/12 cont./

101 186 [756] hungry. The Kayová curer really cures and he even shows the sickness that he pulls out of the body, but the Guaraní curer is only a thief."

186 [648] Nevertheless the hostility among the diverse subgroups of the tribe rarely goes so far as to take the form of open combat. With reference to the Kaingáng /Caingang/ and other foreign tribes the attitude is either one of fear or one of ridicule. It was in general with lively interest that the engravings and photographs from anthropological books that I showed them were commented upon. [101] I frequently heard the name "Tupinambá" for any Indians of unknown tribe.

For Brazilians of Portuguese origin, or "outside people," there are various denominations, in general depreciatory; a neutral one is yvýpóre, which I heard among Ñandéva of the Paulista coast. These also call the Negroes "jaguar food," naturally based on the belief quite widespread in Brazil, that jaguars have a special predilection for persons of black skin (14). [875]

14. /From p. 23 of the original source./ Buarque de Holanda, 1949, p. 249.

• 175 The history of the Guaraní in Paulista territory is quite well known, thanks to the works of Nimuendajú and other investigators. It is known that among them there are no remnants of the ancient Tupí of the coast, who had disappeared already in colonial times. They are linked to the migratory currents, coming from the west, that have followed one another since the first quarter of the last century. The reason for these wanderings is the yvý opá, the end of the world, prophesied by the doctor-sorcerers. Among the groups that have come to the coast, Nimuendajú shows the horde of the Tañiguá /Tanygua/ (1820), the Oguahuíva /Oguauiva/ (1830), the Apapokúva /Apapocuva/ (1870), and in addition a relatively recent group that came in 1912. Over a century ago a large settlement was founded in Itaporanga, near Itararé, on land that seems to have been donated by the Baron of Antonina.

175 167 [773] [789] [361]

/12 cont./

175 361 [162] In 1910 about 500 Guaraní lived there, who later totally, or almost totally, dispersed (15).

15. /From p. 23 of the original source./ One of my principal informants comes from there, the old Poýdjú (now Capitão Maneco do Araribá), who left his natal village at the age of twelve. Concerning the history of his band, there is a note by me among those that accompany "Apontamentos sôbre os Guaraní by Curt Nimuendajú (Nimuendajú, 1954, pp. 55-56).

[115]

[114]

175 169 [361] The reasons for the dispersion were /13/ of various nature. Some families established themselves in the settlements of Itariri and Bananal (they told Baldus in 1927 that they made the change because of spoliation), others went to the region of the Noroeste /Northwest/ at the invitation of a missionary, Father Sabino, to help in the pacification of the Kaingáng of the Rio Feio. The episode of the death of Father Claro Monteiro, who was accompanying some of these Guaraní, is well known. The band later settled in Araribá, where today the Pôsto Curt Nimuendajú is found.

[361]

The more recent migrations are those of some levies of Mbüá from eastern Paraguay and northeastern Argentina, who, crossing Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, and Paraná, arrived at the coast of São Paulo. I know of three groups: one came around 1924, another one came in 1934, and a third one, which arrived in 1946, also came from southern Paraguay, from territory contiguous to the Argentine province of Misiones. Of these three bands, the first two have already been in Espírito Santo, in Minas Gerais, and in Araribá, part of them now living in the village of Rio Branco, and a few remnants in the state of Espírito Santo; the third, after living for a while with their fellows at Rio Branco and with those at Itariri, withdrew to Rio Comprido in the Serra do Itariri.

[361]

/13 cont./

167 One cannot state that the cycle of Guaraní migrations in the direction of the coast has definitely come to an end. Besides, [114] in the middle of 1947 I met, in the Xapecó region of western Santa Catarina, several Mbüá families, who manifested the intention to come to the coast in order to rejoin their relatives and [187] friends. They had done part of the journey and were waiting for divine orders to complete it.

121 Scattered in little nuclei over a large area, the Guaraní that [361] now exist in the national territory are characterized by the multi- [177] plicity of situations of interethnic contact, offering to the anthropologist the possibility of studying acculturation phenomena on a wide scale of variation. This fact was almost determinant with respect to the direction to be given to research. Clearly it would have to include a general survey of the tribe's culture, but it would preferably focus on similar and different aspects of acculturation in the various nuclei as a function of the variability of the conditions. [182] Furthermore, attention should be given to the other consequences of the interethnic contacts, especially the problems of miscegenation and the ambivalent attitudes of the Indians confronted with the "national" population and culture, on the one hand, and the ecological and economic interaction with neighboring populations and the respective forms of co-operation and competition, on the other hand. Thus the changes brought about in the /14/ alimentation, techniques, social organization, religion, and so forth would be understood in a more dynamic manner.

Let us quickly sketch the characteristics of the villages visited.

361 Rainha, south of Itanhaém, near the Rio Prêto, 14 kilometers to the left of the Santos-Juquiá railway, approximately at the point of kilometer 77. The inhabitants, almost in their totality, 162 are of the Ñandéva subgroup. It seems to be a matter of a horde • 175 that came to this territory around 1885 from Iguatemi in the 167 border region between southern Mato Grosso and Paraguay. The Mbüá families that came from the Misiones region and later founded the nucleus of Rio Branco also lived in the settlement for about a year, around 1925.

/162 cont./ Under the direction of doctor-sorcerers, who, on the basis of dreams and visions, claimed that the destruction of the world prophesied by the myth was near, many hordes of this tribe, around 1820, started to walk in the direction of the rising sun from their villages in the south of Mato Grosso, in order to reach the Land without Evil, which was supposed to exist beyond the Atlantic Ocean. Only part of these Indians reached the coast, where, sooner or later, they finally had to admit the impossibility of reaching the country of their aspirations. Part of their descendants are the present-day Ñandéva of the coast of São Paulo. In the immediate surroundings of the capital of the State, in 1912, Nimuendajú found some remnants of a band of Paraguayan Guaraní, who could not be persuaded to give up their plan of continuing their march to the sea. Nimuendajú himself then accompanied them to Praia Grande, where night after night they performed religious dances, in order to make their bodies light enough to fly to the promised land.

From all this come highly significant problems, which were the point of departure for the present work. To what end would the Indians whose dream had not been realized finally be brought? In what manner had their spirit accommodated itself to the frustrating experience? Did the belief in a mythical Paradise continue to exist among them and what modifications had it undergone? -- Even nowadays, as we have seen, migratory movements continue, at least among the Mbyá. I have the impression, by the way, that nowadays they are the only ones to search for the Land without Evil in the east, while the other groups prefer to seek it in the zenith.

In the mythology of all the Guaraní groups now living in Brazil there occur a Universal Fire and a Universal Flood, which have destroyed an earlier earth. These representations are probably part of the ancient mythical tradition of the tribe. The belief in the destruction of the world in the future, however, which in its present form indisputably contains Christian elements, even giving in some of its variants the impression of the Last Judgment, is possible due to the teachings transmitted by the Jesuit missionaries

• 175

[For recorded historical data, passim, see category 116, pp. 14 and 35-58.]

4: Watson--1 E-5 (1943) 1944 SM4 Guarani SM4 Cayua

/31/

101 The Cayuá, who constitute a group of Indians of the Tupí-Guaraní linguistic family, presently live for the most part in the southern region of the State of Mato Grosso and of the Federal Territory of Ponta Porã, in Brazil, and in the adjacent parts of 241 Paraguay. The majority of these Indians, agriculturalists today, 361 live in aldeias or scattered in the forest on posts and reservations 657 of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Service of Protection for the Indians/. The data that we present here were gathered on 101 the Taquapirí reservation during the months from July to December of 1943 (1).

122 1. This study was done in a period in which the author of these notes was the holder of a Junior Roosevelt Fellowship from the Institute of International Education of New York. The journey itself was undertaken in collaboration with the Museu Nacional of Rio de Janeiro. I wish to express my thanks to the Institute of International Education, to D. Heloisa Alberto Torres, Directress of the Museu Nacional, as well as to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, which lent every assistance toward facilitating our work.

121 Unfortunately the information is not as complete as one studying the social organization would like it to be, but the author spent the major part of the time on the study of other aspects of the culture.

•175 In the seventeenth century the Jesuits gathered many Guaraní-797 speaking Indians from the region of Paraguay and southern Brazil 361 into reductions, for the purpose of catechizing them. We do not [162] know the exact number of Guaraní-speaking natives who came in contact with the Jesuits during the period in which the latter worked in the region, which started at the beginning of the seventeenth century; nevertheless, Dobrizhoffer, a Jesuit who lived as a missionary in Paraguay for 18 years, states that in the

/31 cont./
second half of the /32/ following century, when they were expelled, the Jesuits left 32 reductions, with a population of about 100,000 Indians (2).

2. Martin Dobrizhoffer, Geschichte der Abiponer /History of the Abipons/. Vol. 2, pp. 504-506. Vienna, 1783-84.

In 1855 the government of Paraná made an attempt to establish beside the ruins of the former Jesuit reduction of Loreto de Pirapó (near where the Pirapó empties into the Paranapanema) a settlement of Cayuá Indians, later transferred a little higher, with attention paid to the conditions of salubrity. The results of the undertaking were not as good as had at first been expected. In times gone by the Cayuás have ordinarily preferred to live isolated from other groups, whether of Indians or of whites.

In 1908 von Koenigswald writes that the idiom of the Cayuá constituted at the time a dialect of the old Guaraní completely lacking the invocations introduced into the language by the Jesuits (3).

2. Gustav von Koenigswald, "Os Cayuás /The Cayua/." Separate from Vol. XCIII, No. 24, of Globo. Distributed on June 25, 1908. Translation of F. W. Sommer. Page 2.

The group of the Cayuá studied by the author is nowadays fully acquainted with the modified type of the Guaraní idiom: they have perhaps learned it in the last 40 or 50 years, a period in which they have had more and more intense contact with the white population. Among the older individuals there are a few who only speak the older type of idiom, the "pure" Cayuá, and although many of the younger ones use the modified form in the major part of their conversation, they nevertheless know the older type, being able to point out the differences. A small number of Indians,

/22 cont./

made up of those who have spent a large part of their lives outside of the Indian aldeias, having lived in closer contact with the whites, speak and know only the modified type of the language, admitting that they have difficulty at times in understanding the speech of some of the older ones. I found very few of these cases.

Taquapirí, the aldeia under consideration in this article, is located in the Federal Territory of Ponta Porã, between the Brazilian settlements of União and Nhu Verá, about two leagues from the Paraguayan border. At present about 175 individuals are counted in the aldeia, many of them relatives and friends of other Cayuá of the various groups of these Indians in the region, such as the Posto Indígena "Benjamin Constant," Mangaí, Iguassurí, Ipeuna, and Pirajuí. The Cayuá nowadays devote themselves intensively to agriculture, making large clearings, and devoting little time to hunting or fishing. Von Koenigswald states that at the beginning of the twentieth century, the period in which he traveled through the /33/ region, the same was not true. "Every Indian village maintains a small clearing with maize, mandioca, gourd, sweet potato..." (4).

4. Ibid., p. 7.

About 40 or 50 years ago, more or less, the restrictions with which the whites reduced the area of land that the Indians can use were becoming more accentuated. Today the Indians of Taquapirí are limited to a territory which is not watered by rivers that contain a large amount of fish and which does not have forests with plentiful game either. This progressive diminution of the Indians' territory remains alive in the memory of part of the older men of the group. The introduction of the machete to this group, an event that took place at least in a period much earlier than the reduction of the Indians' territory on the part of the whites and which was going to facilitate the opening of the clearings in the forest, constituted another important factor of the change observed in the economy of the Cayuá /The index number for footnote 5

175
412
177
313

/33 cont./
is missing in the original text./

5. Ibid., p. 5.

121 The discussion of the kinship system of the Cayuá can be divided into two distinct parts, kinship terminology and kinship behavior. The kinship behavior will be discussed first in terms of the life cycle and then in terms of reciprocal behavior.

Kinship Terminology

128 The charts I, II, and III[1] represent diagrams of the kinship
601 terminology of the Cayuá. Portuguese terms /translated into English for Chart I/ are used in these diagrams for simplification. The Cayuá terms are brought together in Chart IV.[2]

601 The kinship system is classificatory, since the relatives of the lineage and the collateral ones are put together in the same class. The father's brother is classified with the father, and the mother's sister is classified with the mother, while the mother's brother and the father's sister are designated with distinct terms. The grandparents are distinguished only according to sex, and the terms that denominate the grandparents are also extended to their "siblings" (6).

6. "Siblings" are brothers and sisters who have the same mother and the same father.

All the grandchildren are put together in one class without any distinction, not even as to sex. In the generation of Ego the older brother is distinguished from the younger brother, and the older sister from the younger sister. These designations are extended to the /34/ parallel and cross cousins. The brother's children are son and daughter in the words of the man, and nephew and niece in the words of the woman. All the children of sons and daughters and nephews and nieces are grandchildren.

[1] [pp. 20 and 21 of translated text--analyst]
[2] [pp. 22 and 23 of translated text--analyst]

/34 cont./

601 Formal limits do not seem to oppose the bilateral extension
608 of this terminology. Many inhabitants of the aldeia designate
621 the majority of the other members of the community with a kinship term. Frequently, however, the person is not able to indicate the kinship with precision, but he knows, however, that a certain kinship exists.

601 In the designative terminology for the affines, the parents of the husband are classified as father-in-law and mother-in-law. For the man, the wife's brother and sister, the sister's husband, and the brother's wife are all classified as cunhados /brothers-in-law, brothers- and sisters-in-law/ (without distinction as to sex). For the woman, the husband's sister and the brother's wife are classified as cunhadas /sisters-in-law/, while the sister's husband and the husband's brother are classified as cunhados. In the first descending generation, the son's wife and the daughter's husband are both children by affinity (without distinction as to sex), while for the woman they represent daughter-in-law and son-in-law. The fact that a woman distinguishes, with regard to sex, the affinal relatives of her own generation as well as those of the first descending generation, while the man does not make this distinc-
[121] tion, is a peculiarity whose real meaning is not known. One
[174] possibility, for which, however, one can not present many proofs today, would be the close relation between this phenomenon and the fact that in other times the maternal side of the family might have been more important in the kinship system than it is at present.

114 Montoya, a Jesuit missionary who lived on the Upper Paraná
175 in the first half of the seventeenth century, compiled a Guaraní
197 vocabulary, in which are certainly represented, without any distinction, various idioms of the Tupí-Guaraní linguistic family (7).

[113] 7. Padre Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, Vocabulario y Tesoro de la Lengua guaraní, o mas bien tupí /Vocabulary and Thesaurus of the Guarani, or rather Tupi, Language/. New edition. Vienna-Paris, 1876.

/34 cont./

114 We therefore do not know whether the Cayuá figures among them,
175 but there is no doubt about the fact that one of the groups studied
601 by him was closely connected to the Cayuá with reference to
197 language, because the greater part of the present-day kinship terms of the Cayuá are found, with very little variation, in Montoya's work (8).

[113]

8. See also: Carlos Drummond, "Designativos de parentesco in Tupí-Guaraní /Kinship Designations in Tupi-Guarani/." Sociologia, Vol. 5, No. 4, pp. 328-354. São Paulo.

114 Terms for the first descending generation that are not designations
601 for the children of Ego or the children of Ego's brothers and sisters are not recorded by Montoya; /35/ they are the only ones that we lack for the comparison. While Montoya gives the designation for daughter as being the one for the brother's daughter, he does not mention that the term for son is also extended to the brother's son. In our opinion this is probably owing to a lapse on the part
[178] of the researcher. In a general way one can say that a comparison of the terms presented by Montoya with those of the present-day Cayuá indicates a high degree of stability, during a relatively long period, in the kinship system of certain Guaraní-speaking groups, including the Cayuá.

The Life Cycle

842 Births: Among the Cayuá one notices a great desire to have children. There are no mystic concepts relative to the birth, but there are various remedies that the woman can take in order to have children. In the case of not having children, it is always admitted that the woman might be sterile, this sterility being attributed to the fact of her having taken contraceptive remedies.
843 Sterility is considered a valid reason for divorce. During the pregnancy there are certain taboos for both the pregnant woman

/44 cont./

121 economy of the Cayuá, going from a predominantly hunting and
178 fishing economy to another one primarily agricultural, a change
182 that has taken place /45/ in the last 30 or 40 years. We have
60 indications that certain features of the kinship system have also
433 changed in this period, but all the changes that took place are
not known, just as the relations between them and that of the
economy are not, although we may have indications that they
[124] exist. Some old men of the community who have witnessed the
change in the group's economy say that certain changes of the
kinship system made the position of the women and of the mater-
nal relatives of the individual less important, whereas that of the
men increased in importance. The discussion of this subject goes
beyond the scope of the present article.

171 A phenomenon that was reported for the Tupí of Brazil as
• 175 early as the sixteenth century (9)

582 9. P. Joseph de Anchieta: Informação
604 dos casamentos dos índios do Brasil
[113] /Information about the marriages of the
Indians of Brazil/. Ethnological Lectures
orgs ized by Prof. Dr. Herbert Baldus and
mimeographed by the Escola Livre de
Sociologia e Política de São Paulo, p. 3.

and in modern times for the Kaingang of the Piquirí (10)

[113] 10. Telemaco Borba: Atualidade Indígena
/Indigenous Present/. Curitiba, 1908,
p. 11.

582 is the marriage of the man to the sister's daughter. Cases of
604 this were not observed among the Cayuá, and the majority of
124

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

THE GUARANÍ

By Alfred Métraux

TRIBAL DIVISIONS

The area inhabited by the *Guaraní* (map 1, *No. 1*; see Volume 1, map 7) has shrunk considerably since the 16th century. Today the *Guaraní* who have preserved their cultural identity form isolated islands in Paraguay and southern Brazil. The subtribes mentioned by Spanish conquistadors and missionaries have disappeared, and the names which designate modern *Guaraní* groups are fairly recent and appear in the literature only in the 18th century. Therefore, it is necessary to deal with ancient and modern *Guaraní* as if they were separate entities. The *Guaraní* language, however, is still spoken by Mestizos, or acculturated Indians, in most of the territory where it was used at the time of the Conquest. The rural population of Paraguay is often called *Guaraní*. Therefore, in order to avoid confusion between these modern civilized *Guaraní* and their primitive contemporaries, we shall always refer to the latter as *Caingué*.

Guaraní of the 16th and 17th centuries.—The *Guaraní* were first known as *Carijó* or *Cario*, but the name *Guaraní* finally prevailed in the 17th century. At this time, the *Guaraní* were the masters of the Atlantic Coast from Barra de Cananea to Río Grande do Sul, (lat. 26°–33° S., long. 48°–52° W.) and from there their groups extended to the Paraná, Uruguay, and Paraguay Rivers.

Guaraní groups, called by the early chroniclers "Guaraní de las islas," *Chandris*, or *Chandules*, lived in the 16th century on the islands of the Río de la Plata, and on the southern side of the Paraná Delta from San Isidro to the vicinity of the Carcarañá River (lat. 34° S., long. 58° W.) There were some *Guaraní* enclaves along the Uruguayan shore, at Martín Chico, and from San Lazaro to San Salvador. Pottery vessels of unmistakable *Guaraní* origin have been found near San Francisco Soriano and Concordia in Uruguay, on the island of Martín García and at Arroyo Malo, between the Luján River and the Paraná de las Palmas River.

On the eastern side of the Uruguay River, the borderline between the *Charrua* and the bulk of the *Guaraní* nation ran near Yapeyú. On the

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

western side, the *Guaraní* occupied all the land from Yapeyú to the Paraná River (Serrano, 1936, p. 121). From the junction of the Paraná and Paraguay Rivers, *Guaraní* villages were distributed continuously up the eastern side of the Paraguay River and up both sides of the Paraná River. They reached north to the Mbotetey (Miranda) River (lat. 20° S.), and east probably to the Serras de Amambay and Maracayú. The *Guaraní* were especially numerous in the Paraná Basin and in the Province of Guairá. There were also countless settlements along the tributaries of the Paraná River, the boundary between the *Tupinakin* and *Guaraní* being approximately the Tieté River. The *Guaraní* extended south to the Province of Tapé (today, Serra Geral).

Although *Guaraní* was the generic name of this widespread people, the Spaniards in the 16th and 17th centuries distinguished local tribes by special names. Around Lagoa dos Patos, the *Guaraní* were called *Arechane* (lat. 32° S., long. 51° W.); from the Apa River to the Mbotetey (Miranda) River, *Itatín* (lat. 22° S., long. 57° W.); in the Serra Geral and Rio Grande do Sul, *Tapé* (lat. 30° S., long. 52° W.); around San Estanislao and San Joaquín, *Tobatín;* on the Ypané River, *Guarambaré* (lat. 23° S., long. 56° W.); and on the Ivahy (Ivahyete) River, *Taiobá.* Tribes with a different language and culture, such as the *Caingang,* or with a different culture, such as the *Guayakí,* were scattered among the *Guaraní.*

In the second half of the 17th century, the *Northern Guaraní* or *Itatín,* were driven south by the *Mbayá-Guaicurú,* a Chaco tribe.

Modern Guaraní tribes.—Since the 18th century, the *Guaraní* groups who had remained independent and had not been collected in missions have been distinguished from the Christianized *Guaraní* by the name *Caingué* (*Kaa-tharua, Kaingua, Ceyná, Monteses*), which means "Inhabitants of the Forest."

About 1800, the *Caingué* (*Caagua*) inhabited the headwaters of the Iguatemí River, extending north toward the upper Miranda River to Cerro Pyta in the Cordillera de San José near the headwaters of the Ypané River. They also lived near the Jejuí-guazú (Jejuí) and the Aguaray-guazú Rivers and in the vicinity of the cities of Curuguaty, San Joaquín, and San Estanislao (Azara, 1904, p. 407).

The *Caingué* proper lived on the Ypané River, the *Carima* in the Serra Maracayú (lat. 23° S., long. 54° W.), and the *Tarama* east of the Yhú River (lat. 24° S., long. 56° W.).

The Indians who at the end of the 18th century lived on the right side of the Paraná River between the Guarapay and Monday Rivers and on the left side of the Paraná River from Corpus to the Iguassú River, were known as *Guayana* (lat. 26° S., long. 56° W.). A group of these *Guayana* still exists at Villa Azara on the stream Piré-pyta. These *Guaraní*-speaking *Guayaná* should not be confused with the ancient

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101 131 [175]

Guayaná of São Paulo and Paraná, who were *Caingang* Indians (Azara, 1904, p. 406).

Modern *Cainguá* (*Caaiguá*) are divided into three groups:

(1) The *Mbyá* (*Mbuiha, Avo-mbihá, Caayguá, Apyterá, Baticola*), who occupy the forested spurs of the Serra de Maracayú (lat. 25°–27° S., long. 55° W.) and the region around Corpus in the Argentine territory of Misiones. Groups of *Mbyá* (or *Cainguá*) are even more widely scattered in Mato Grosso and in the States of Paraná and Rio Grande do Sul.

(2) The *Chiripá*, who live south of the Jejuá-guazú River and are also reported on the right and left sides of the upper Paraná River, along the Yuytorocaí River and north of the Iguassú River (lat. 25° S., long. 54°–56° W.).

(3) The *Paĩ'* (*Tevenãhẽ*), who live north of the Jejui-guazú River.

Of these three groups, the *Mbyá* have remained the closest to their ancient *Guaraní* culture; the *Chiripá* are the most acculturated.

There are also several groups of *Caingué* or *Guaraní* in Brazil. The *Apapocuva* (lat. 24° S., long. 54° W.) regard themselves as distinct from the Paraguayan *Caingué* although they are closely related to them. Before they started in 1870 trekking east in search of the Land-Without-Evil (see below, p. 93), they lived on the lower Iguatemí River, in the southern tip of the State of Mato Grosso. In 1912, 200 still lived on the Iguatemi River; about 200 in the reservation of Araribá, in the State of São Paulo; 100 on the Rio das Cinzas, in the State of Paraná; about 70 in Potrero Guará, in Mato Grosso; and about 40 at the mouth of the Ivahi River. The *Tañygué*, who also made this trek, resided on the Paraná River near the Iguatemí River (lat. 23° S., long. 54° W.). After a long migration which took them to the Atlantic Coast, they became established on the Rio de Peixe and the Itariry River, where a few of them still remained in 1912.

101 131 167 175 [162]

The ancient habitat of the *Oguauíva*, from which they migrated toward the Ocean in 1830, was situated near the Serra de Maracayú (lat. 24° S., long 54° W.). In 1912, 100 *Oguauíva* lived in the reservation of Araribá, and 40 near the coast.

[162]

The other *Caingué* groups who, according to Nimuendajú (1914 a, p. 293), lived in southern Brazil about 1912 were: The *Chaiva*,[1] near the mouth of the Iguatemí; the *Arachaguni*, on the Dourados; the *Paiguaçu*, on the Curupayná River (Mato Grosso); the *Yvytyiguá*, opposite the Serra do Diabo, in the State of Paraná; the *Avachiripá*, on the left side of the Paraná (State of Paraná); the *Catuetuva Jatahy*, in the same State.

101 131

The *Apapocuva*, *Tañygué*, *Oguauíva*, and *Chaiva* are regarded as *Guaraní* whereas the *Arachaguni*, *Paiguaçu*, *Yvytyiguá*, *Avachiripá*, and

[1] There are also Chaiva in Paraguay near the Guaira Falls.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

dogs, that is to say, supports for pots, a hypothesis completely unconfirmed. No object of that type has been found in any other *Guaraní* region. 172

A fragment of a double vessel found at Arroyo Malo suggests a type of bowl used by the *Chiriguano*, though these modern vessels are obviously copied after European yerba maté containers. An effigy vessel collected at Arroyo Malo is definitely alien to *Guaraní* culture as known through archeology. [485] [171]

Crude stone drills, knives, hammers, and arrow-shaft polishers are listed by Mayntzhusen (1912, p. 463) among the stone objects he picked up from refuse heaps on the upper Paraná River. He also mentions quartz lip plugs. Simple neolithic stone axes without any groove have been found in *Guaraní* sites of the upper Paraná River, on the island of Martín García, and at Arroyo Malo. Lothrop (1932, p. 145) describes two fragmentary bolas from Arroyo Malo. One is well made with a broad groove; the other is roughly shaped with a narrow groove. Outes (1917, fig. 28) figures also a grooved bola obtained at Martín García. The bola was not a *Guaraní* weapon and its use seems to have been limited to the *Guaraní* of the Delta.

Hammerstones, roughly shaped by abrasion and including some pitted ones, have come to light in the excavations of Arroyo Malo.

The bone artifacts which Mayntzhusen claims to have collected on ancient sites of the Paraná River include needles, weaver daggers, spatulae, fishhooks, and flutes. He also discovered perforated shell disks and some human or animal teeth which were parts of a necklace.

THE CONQUEST

No mineral wealth has ever been exploited in Paraguay, but metal objects found among the aborigines of this country in the 16th century brought about the conquest of the entire basin of the Río de la Plata. The gold and silver, which members of the Solís expedition obtained from the *Guaraní* and other Indians of this region, had come originally from the *Inca* Empire. At the end of the 15th century, probably under the reign of Inca Yupanqui, bands of *Guaraní* had crossed the Chaco to raid the peaceful *Chané* along the *Inca* frontier and even attacked tribes directly under *Inca* rule. Some of these *Guaraní* bands settled in the conquered territories; others returned loaded with loot. Groups, small and large, followed the first invaders and renewed their assaults against the "people of the metal." The number of metal objects which reached Paraguay and the Río de la Plata in this manner must have been considerable for, from the beginning of the Conquest, regions which actually had nothing to entice the Spaniards were the object of their most violent covetousness. These regions became the gateway to El Dorado. 175-64 [94]

The first positive information on the "Sierra de la Plata" or "Tierra

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rica" was obtained by Alejo García, who, with a few other white men, joined a *Guaraní* raid against the *Inca* border. He wrote of his discovery to his companions who had remained in Santa Catarina. When Sebastian Cabot landed at Pernambuco in 1526, he had been told of gold and silver in the region of the Rio de la Plata. Later, in Santa Catarina he obtained more detailed information from Alejo García's companions and heard that "near the sierra there was a white king, dressed like a Spaniard," and that Garcia and his companions had seen mines and had spoken with the Indians who lived near the sierra and "wore silver crowns on their heads and gold plates hanging from their necks and ears and attached around their belts." With his letter, García had sent specimens of the metal. Convinced that they had reached El Dorado, Sebastian Cabot abandoned his intended journey to the East Indies and decided to ascend the Rio de la Plata, where he was assured he could "load a ship with gold and silver." Cabot sailed the Paraná and then the Paraguay River to its junction with the Pilcomayo River. Ramirez, in his famous letter recounting the Cabot expedition, says that, "the *Guaraní* Indians of the region of Santa Ana wear many ear pendants and pendants of gold and silver," and that a brigantine's crew saw the same things somewhat upstream. Through an interpreter, the Spaniards learned that the *Chandule*, who were Indians of the same tribe living 180 miles (60 leagues) up the Paraguay River, "traded gold to the Guaraní for beads and canoes." The *Chandule*, who were probably the *Guaraní* of the region of Itati, had much metal, "according to the Indians, because women and children went from their settlements to the mountain and brought back the aforesaid metal" (Ramírez *in* Medina, J. T., 1908, p. 456).

The Cabot expedition was a failure, but the reports about the Sierra de la Plata, the *Caracara* Indians (i.e., the *Quechua* Indians of Charcas), and the silver and gold of the *Guaraní* were avidly received by the Spaniards and led to the expedition of Adelantado Pedro de Mendoza. In 1536, Mendoza sent Juan de Ayolas up the Paraguay River to find a route to the land of the *Caracara*. Ayolas ascended the Paraguay River to the Port of Candelaria, at lat. 19° S., whence, led by a former slave of García, he crossed the Chaco through the land of the *Mbayá*, and reached the *Caracara*. Like Alejo García, he returned "with 20 loads of gold and silver," but, on reaching the Paraguay River, he and his companions were massacred by the *Payagua* Indians (1538). A year earlier, Juan de Salazar de Espinosa had founded the city of Asunción. The *Carió* (*Guaraní*), who understood the aim of the Spaniards and who hoped to make them allies in their raids, were extremely friendly to the Spaniards, and provided them with food and women. Henceforth, the *Guaraní* served as auxiliaries and porters in all Spanish expeditions, whether to the Chaco or to the Andes. When Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca fought the *Mbayá-Guaicurú* in 1542, he was assisted by 10,000

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Guaraní, who gathered at Tapuá. Two thousand *Guaraní* accompanied Domingo de Irala in 1548 and even more followed Nufrio de Chaves in 1558. 175 648

The *Guaraní* later resisted the ruthless exploitation of which they were victims (for example, the revolts of Tabaré and Guarambaré), but they lacked the determination and unity shown by other tribes so that their revolts were easily crushed. Later *Guaraní* rebellions were often led by native messiahs, the most famous of whom was Obera (end of the 16th century), who promised the Indians supernatural support and convinced them that the happiness of native times would be restored after the final expulsion of the White men. [669]

From the outset, the conquistadors, like the European colonists on the coast of Brazil, were strongly attracted by the beauty of the *Guaraní* women—who readily yielded to their solicitations—and took native wives or mistresses. As some of these were daughters and sisters of local chiefs, the alliances proved useful to the Spaniards, for the Indians felt obliged to support and serve their new relatives. The Spaniards lived scattered in small ranches around Asunción, surrounded by harems (some with 20 to 30 women), and by their wives' relatives.

The young colony came to consist of a rapidly growing Mestizo population, without which it would have been abandoned soon after the Conquest of Perú. The system of encomiendas, introduced in the middle of the 16th century, had the usual dire effects on the native population. Forced to work for their masters and often ill-treated, the Indians died by the thousands. At the end of the 16th century, there remained within a radius of 21 miles (7 leagues) around Asunción, only 3,000 Indians. The region of Tapuá, north of Asunción, which had been covered with ranches, was practically abandoned. The disappearance of the natives, however, was compensated by the constant increase of the Mestizos, or "mancebos de la tierra," whose lawlessness is often stressed by Spanish chroniclers. These descendants of early Spaniards and *Guaraní* form the main element in the million or so people of modern Paraguay, so that their language is still spoken in rural Paraguay, in the Argentine territory of Misiones, and in the State of Corrientes. Even in cities, such as Asunción, part of the population still uses the language of their *Guaraní* ancestors.

The missions.—Unlike the *Guaraní* under the Spanish encomiendas, that portion of the tribe which occupied the upper Paraná River and the Uruguay River basin was subject to Jesuit missions for about two centuries (1608–1767). Their post-Conquest history, therefore, is identical with that of the missions. The first Jesuits (Juan Solano, Manuel de Ortega, and Tomas Filds) arrived in Asunción in 1588. Two of these fathers went to the region of El Guairá, a territory defined on the west by the Paraná River, on the north by the Tieté River, on the south by the Iguassú 175 648 797

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River, and in the east by a vague line drawn by the treaty of Tordesillas. Here, the Spaniards had founded two cities, Ciudad real del Guairá (1554) and Villarica. The two Jesuits visited numerous Indian villages, baptizing children and moribunds, but they did not establish any permanent mission. In 1609, the King of Spain, at the request of Hernandarias de Saavedra, Governor of Paraguay, granted the Jesuits permission to conquer the 150,000 *Guaraní* Indians of El Guairá, by "means of doctrines and by the preaching of the Gospel."

The first Jesuit mission in Paraguay was San Ignacio Guazú, founded north of the Paraná River, but the first establishments of El Guairá (Nuestra Señora de Loreto and San Ignacio-mirí on the Pirapo River), which were to become so prosperous, were created in 1610 by Fathers José Cataldino and Simon Maceta. The apostle of the *Guairá* was the famous Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, founder of 11 missions between 1622 and 1629 and author of the great classic of *Guaraní* language, the "Arte, vocabulario, tesoro de la lengua Guarani" (1876). In another book, "Conquista espiritual . . . del Paraguay" (1892), he reports his adventures and successes and the ruin of the missions. In 1630, the flourishing missions of El Guairá were destroyed by the raids of slave hunters from São Paulo, the dreaded mamelucos, who attacked the missions and captured all whom they did not slaughter. In a few years, they are said to have killed or enslaved 300,000 *Guaraní* Indians. From 1628 to 1630 they took 60,000 Indians from the Jesuit missions to São Paulo. In 1631 Ruiz de Montoya evacuated Loreto and San Ignacio, the two last missions to survive in El Guairá, and took the people in a heroic anabasis from El Guairá to the Paraná River. Twelve thousand Indians began this forced migration but only 4,000 survived its vicissitudes.

The northern territory of the *Guaraní*, between the Paraguay, Mbotetey (Miranda), and Jejui-guazú Rivers and the Sierra de Amambay, was called the Province of Itatin after one of its local *Guaraní* subtribes. The Jesuits founded four missions here in 1631, but in 1632 these were all destroyed by the mamelucos from São Paulo. Later, two new missions were founded in the same area.

The same year the Jesuits entered the mountainous region in the Brazilian State of Rio Grande do Sul, which forms the divide between the basins of the Uruguay and the Jacui Rivers. This was formerly called Tapé, but today only a branch of the mountain system is known as Sierra de los Tapes; the remainder is known as Sierra de San Martin and Cuchilla Grande. From 1632 to 1635, the Jesuits founded 10 "reducciones" here. The renewed assaults of the mamelucos in 1638 forced the Jesuits to evacuate the missions of Tapé, a region that was forever lost to Portugal. After these last inroads, the *Guaraní* Indians received guns and, on two occasions—at Caazapá-guazú and at Mbororé (1639 and 1640)—they defeated the mamelucos. From 1687 to 1707, eight new missions were

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founded which, together with the others, formed the 30 cities of the so-called "Paraguayan State of the Jesuits." 1750 648 797

The Jesuit expansion was resisted by certain *Guaraní* shamans, chiefs, and especially messiahs, who seem to have been very numerous in this period of hardship and misery. Meanwhile, the Jesuits were persecuted by the encomenderos, who could not tolerate the loss of so many Indians to the missionaries. The southern missions of Yapeyú and La Cruz were often molested by the incursions of the *Yaró*, *Mbohane*, *Minuane*, and *Charrua* Indians. Several expeditions of *Guaraní* were led by Spanish officers against these wild tribes.

The first blow to the Jesuits was the treaty of 1750 between Spain and Portugal, by which Philip VI yielded to Portugal seven Jesuit missions on the eastern side of the Uruguay River (San Borja, San Nicolas, San Luís, San Lorenzo, Santo Angel, San Miguel, and San Juan) in exchange for the colony of Sacramento. The Indians refused to abandon their villages and resisted by arms the forced expulsion. Both Spain and Portugal had to send armies, which defeated the Indians in 1756. Three years later, the Tratado de Límites was abrogated and the seven towns were returned to the Jesuits, but in the meantime they had been partially destroyed and the Indian population, estimated at 30,000 a few years before, had considerably decreased. [161]

The year 1767, when all Jesuits were expelled from South America, is a fateful date in the history of the South American Indians. The Indians who had been under Jesuit rule dwindled or disappeared altogether. Tribes left their missions to return to the bush; Indians in Jesuit colonies reverted to barbarism and regions previously explored again became geographical blanks on the map.

The new charter which Don Francisco de Paula Bucareli y Ursua drafted for the missions after the expulsion of the Jesuits differed from the previous system only in minor points. The so-called communistic feature of the Jesuit regime and the restrictions on commerce were maintained, but none of the more progressive aspects of the plan, such as the foundation of a University, were ever applied. Control of the missions was given to Franciscans, assisted by lay administrators. The results were baleful. The missions were invaded by colonists who robbed the Indians of their lands and destroyed the cattle and maté plantations. The fields were abandoned and the handicrafts forgotten through lack of teachers. The Indians were forced to work for the Whites and were victimized by the local authorities. Many continued to live on their plantations but others returned to the forests. Those who remained in the missions were completely demoralized by alcoholism and the bad example of the colonists. The wars of independence and the later national wars completed the decadence and the ruin of the missions. In 1801 the seven towns in Uruguay were given back to Portugal; in 1817 the

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dictator, Francia, ordered the destruction of the five missions south of the Paraná River. The 15 missions between the Paraná and Uruguay Rivers were abandoned during the war of 1816–18. The *Guaraní* who were not slaughtered settled in small villages, often near the ancient missions. In 1848 the dictator of Paraguay, Carlos Antonio Lopez, suppressed Bucareli's regime and forced the 6,000 *Guaraní* who still occupied missions to live in ordinary villages like the remainder of the Paraguayan population. The last vestiges of the Jesuit system disappeared after that date.

The Jesuit missions of Paraguay have been the subject of considerable controversy concerning their alleged communistic organization.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The early *Guaraní* seem to have been proficient horticulturists, perhaps superior to their modern descendants, the *Caingué*, who are said to be unable to subsist entirely on the output of their small fields. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guaraní* supplemented their diet with all kinds of wild fruits, and with game and fish.

Farming.—The whole community, among both ancient and modern *Guaraní*, cooperated in clearing a large field by the slash-and-burn method in a thick forest and then subdivided it into family plots. Planting and sowing were regulated by the course of the Pleiades. The main agricultural tool was the digging stick. After five or six years of cultivation fields were considered exhausted and were abandoned.

Most plants typical of the Tropics, except cayenne pepper, were raised by the *Guaraní* and are still grown by their descendants, the *Caingué* and the Paraguayan Mestizos. Manioc, mainly the sweet species, and maize are the staples. The *Caingué* cultivate manioc, maize (5 varieties), several varieties of sweet potatoes, beans, mangara (*Xanthosoma* sp.), a tuber called carahu (*Dioscorea* sp.), a leguminosea called mbacucu, peanuts, pumpkins, bananas, papayas, and watermelons. They also grow an herb (*Nissolia* sp.) for curing serpent bites, and two shrubs (*Rhamnidium* sp., and *Coix lacryma-jobi*), the seeds of which serve as beads. The *Pai'* and *Chiripá* raise tacuapi reeds, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*), for their arrow shafts. The *Caingué* are very fond of sugarcane, which is for them a delicacy.

Gathering wild foods.—The *Guaraní* of the southern Brazilian plateau consumed great quantities of pine nuts (*Araucaria brasiliensis*), which are abundant in that region.

The modern *Caingué* subsist far more than did their ancestors on wild plants, especially pindo palms (*Cocos romanzoffiana*). This tree not only provides them leaves for making baskets, but also with vitamin-rich terminal shoots, with juicy fruits, oily nuts, and pith which the Indians

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influence. The southernmost *Guaraní*, who lived in a harsh climate, followed the example of the *Charrúa* and wore skin cloaks. In some *Caingud* groups, men wear a loincloth (hence the name *Chiripá*); in others they pass a piece of cloth between the legs and tuck it under a belt of human hair or fibers (hence the name, *Baticola*, "crupper"). Today cotton ponchos are sometimes worn by men.

Ornaments.—The distinctive lip ornament of ancient and modern *Guaraní* is a long T-shaped stick made of jatahy rosin; labrets of stone or bone were exceptional.[2a] Women hang triangular shell pendants from their ears. In the 16th century, men wore huge shell-disk necklaces, which have often been discovered in archeological sites. A few privileged individuals suspended on their chest pendants of silver or copper plates which had reached Paraguay from Perú.

At ceremonies, modern *Caingud* men wear feather wreaths, cotton sashes fringed with feathers, or seed necklaces with feather tassels. Pairs of these necklaces are crossed over the chest. Children's and women's necklaces are strung with pyramidal wooden beads, wooden or bone pendants carved into human or animal forms, seeds, small gourds, fish vertebrae, pendants made of toucan skin, and other objects.

Feather cloaks, formerly worn by famous chiefs, are no longer seen, but feather bracelets and diadems are still used by shamans or participants in religious ceremonies. On some headdresses, feathers were mounted on a woven frontlet, a technique suggesting Andean influence. Feather garlands were sometimes tied on top of the head in the form of rudimentary bonnets. The *Mbyá* wear bracelets, garters, and anklets of human hair. Belts of hair are worn only by men. Finger rings of palm fruits or iguana tails seem now to have become fashionable.

The circular tonsure of the ancient *Guaraní*, still used by some *Caingud* groups, did not extend to the forehead, as among the *Tupinamba*, but was similar to that of Franciscan monks.

Painting.—The use of urucú for body paint is widespread, but that of genipa seems to be limited to the Brazilian *Caingud*. Other groups substitute for it the juices of several plants or a mixture of charcoal and honey or wax. Traditional facial designs are dots and stripes, sometimes applied with bamboo stamps.

The ancient *Itatin* rubbed ashes from bones of birds of prey or swift animals into cuts made in their skin to improve their dexterity in archery.

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The ancient literature rarely mentions dugout canoes though they must have been common on the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers. The Paraguayan *Caingud* live on streams that are unsuited to boats and consequently make only a few dugouts or bamboo rafts, mainly for crossing

[2a] Today labrets have fallen into disuse.

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or covered with a basketry sheath in the center. A small bulge at each end made of wrapped bark strips prevents the fiber bowstring from slipping. Archers wear wrist guards of human hair or of cotton (*Chiripá*). The main types of arrowheads found in the tropical area are used by the *Caingué:* Lanceolate taquara heads; tapering sticks, plain or barbed on one or both sides; and conical wooden plugs for stunning birds.

The war arrows of the ancient *Guaraní* were often tipped with human bones.

The arrow shafts are made either of the native tacuati reed (*Merostachys argyroneura*) or more commonly of the imported tacuapi, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*).

The feathering is of the Eastern Brazilian, or arched type. The pellet-bow is widely used by young *Caingué* boys to shoot birds or small rodents.[8] The missiles are small clay pellets.

Caingué clubs are either swordlike with cutting edges or plain sticks with a square cross section and a basketry sheath around the handle. Sometimes they taper into a point. The *Guaraní* were acquainted with the sling but found little use for it in their forested habitat.

The *Guaraní* warriors whom the Spaniards fought in the 16th century carried shields, often decorated with feathers. This defensive weapon has not been reported since the 17th century.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, the social unit was probably the large extended patrilineal family—perhaps the sib. Sometimes as many as 60 families lived under the same roof. Each community had a chief, but the actual power was often in the hands of a shaman. Many of the great *Guaraní* leaders who resisted the Spaniards in the 17th century were shamans endowed with divine prestige. Some ancient chiefs extended their influence over a fairly wide area. A general council of chiefs and adult men decided community and district affairs and elected war chiefs who commanded obedience during expeditions.

All *Apapocuva-Guaraní* chiefs, for at least a hundred years, have been shamans who have reached the highest rank within their profession. Like the ancient chiefs, they have been credited with supernatural power and with miracles performed on behalf of their people.

A *Guaraní* chief was succeeded by his eldest son unless there was some stronger member of the family. However, an eloquent man distinguished in warfare might become chief. Persons dissatisfied with their headman might secede and start a new settlement under another leader. Chiefs of *Caingué* communities in Paraguay have a Spanish title and carry a stick as symbol of their office. Fifty years ago, a few villages were administered as in Jesuit times, by a cacique mayor and cacique menor, a sargento, and

[8] For a good description of the Guaraní pellet-bow, see Azara, 1809, 2:427.

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and the approach of a new golden age; or else some tribe would leave its territory in quest of the Land-Without-Evil. According to missionary accounts, shamans often represented themselves as the Lords of the Universe and preached a holy war against the intruders. These messiahs performed rites and expressed ideas that, like the redeemer concept, included many borrowings from Christianity.

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During the last century, three *Guaraní* groups, the *Apapocuva*, the *Tanyguá*, and the *Oguauíva*, fearing an imminent destruction of the world announced by their shamans, desperately attempted to reach the Land-Without-Evil, where there is abundance of all good things and eternal life. Since most authorities located the paradise somewhere in the east, beyond the sea, these migrations were directed toward the Atlantic Coast. In 1910, a group of *Apapocuva* sought to lose weight through dancing, so as to fly over the ocean.

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This great hope, which has so deeply influenced the destiny of these Indians, is based on a myth which describes the first destruction of the universe by fire and water. A shaman forced his people to dance day and night so as to open the way to the heavenly country. Modern *Guaraní* often tried to emulate this act, irrespective of repeated failures, which they blamed on ritual mistakes or on the use of foreign foods. The leaders of these movements were always famous shamans surrounded by an aura of mystery.

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Cayua

HISTORIC INFLUENCES AND CHANGE IN THE ECONOMY OF A SOUTHERN MATO GROSSO TRIBE *

James B. Watson
Escola Livre de Sociologia e Politica de São Paulo

Location

The Cayuá are a Guarani-speaking people of southwestern Brazil and adjacent Paraguay. The groups on the Brazilian side of the boundary are at present located on various *postos* and *reservas* of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, a federal agency. All the Cayuá area now lies between the great Rio Parana and the Rio Paraguay (see map), and Rengger's account [1] indicates that this area has been their traditional location since well over a hundred years ago. Shortly after Rengger's Paraguayan sojourn (1818-1826), however, the Cayuá territory seems to have been extended farther to the north and to the east of the Rio Paraná. Von Ihering, at least, affirms that this move-

* Between the months of July and November, 1943, the writer and his wife, in company with two students from the anthropological staff of the Museu Nacional of Brazil at Rio de Janeiro, studied the life — largely the economic aspects — of a group of Cayuá (also written Caiguá, Caingá, Cainguá, Caiowa, Cayowá, Kaaiwá, Kaingá, Kainguá, etc.) in the south of the state of Mato Grosso, almost on the Paraguayan frontier. This field work was in collaboration with the Museu Nacional and under the sponsorship of Dona Heloisa Alberto Torres, the director of that notable Brazilian institution. The writer was enabled to participate through a fellowship grant of the Divisão de Cooperação Intelectual of the Ministério das Relações Exteriores, and a very great debt is acknowledged for the assistance and cooperation of both of these organs of the Brazilian federal government as well as to the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, which admirably cooperated with us in the field.

[1] Rengger, Dr. J. B., *Reise nach Paraguay*, in den Jahren 1818 bis 1826 (aus des Verfassers handschriftlichen Nachlasse herausgegeben von A. Rengger) (Aarau, 1835).

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ment of the Cayuá from their traditional home in Paraguay and the southern part of the state of Mato Grosso took place only in relatively recent times. He dates their entry into the states of São Paulo and Paraná as late as 1830-1852.[3] Von Koenigswald agrees substantially in both details with von Ihering, stating that the original home of the Cayuá has always been northern Paraguay and southern Mato Grosso, but that the advancing whites and the war disturbances of the beginning of the last century forced large numbers of Cayuá to flee eastward where they took shelter on the lower Paranapanema River.[3] This river is part of the east-to-west boundary between the Brazilian states of São Paulo and Paraná, well to the northeast of present Cayuá territory. Von Koenigswald further concludes that the Cayuá must have been numerous inasmuch as they formerly ranged as far north as the Rio Peixe in the state of São Paulo and as far south as the Rio Ivahi. He mentions that as early as 1855 there had been an attempt to establish a group of Cayuá on a reservation at Loreta de Pirapó, in the state of Paraná, in the valley of the Paranapanema. Sampaio[4] in 1890 reported numerous Cayuá in the valley of the same river. The former extension of the Cayuá to the northeast of their present territory seems pretty well corroborated.

Another fact in support of the hypothesis that Cayuá territory was formerly more extensive than at present is that the Cayuá were apparently canoe Indians until at least some forty years or so ago — and some groups presumably until more recently, according to von Koenigswald, writing in 1908.[5] Sampaio also gives the impression of a notable use of the canoe by the Cayuá.[6] Being canoe people would have made them much more mobile and enabled them to travel widely on the excellent fluvial system of the Paraná and its many affluents, even if actual settlements of Cayuá had not been known in São Paulo

[3] Von Ihering, Hermann, "A anthropologia do Estado de São Paulo", *Revista do Museu Paulista*, vol. VII, 1907 (São Paulo), p. 204.

[3] Von Koenigswald, Gustav, "Os Cayuás", Portuguese translation from the German, *Globus*, vol. XVIII, nº 24 by F. W. Sommer, collection of Museu Nacional (Rio de Janeiro).

[4] Sampaio, Teodoro, "Considerações Geográphicas e Economicas sôbre o Valle do Rio Paranapanema", *Boletim da Comissão Geográphica e Geológica do Estado de São Paulo*, nº 4 (São Paulo, 1890).

[5] *Op. cit.*

[6] *Op. cit.*

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and Paraná before 1830. Some of the western branches of the Paraná system are still familiar to the Cayuá of Brazil, especially the Rio Amambai and the Rio Iguatemy which flow through their present area.

A map[7] published in 1911 shows only a few small nuclei of Cayuá remaining in the regions east of the Paraná, demonstrating that they had at that time probably already withdrawn or largely disappeared from these parts. Today they are probably almost completely confined to what seems to have always been their traditional home in southern Mato Grosso and northern Paraguay.

Numbers

On the Brazilian side of the frontier the numbers of the Cayuá have been variously estimated, but to our knowledge, nothing like a census or a creditable calculation exists. A rough count of the inhabitants of the more accessible and stable villages may exist in the hands of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios (hereinafter to be referred to as the SPI). But large numbers of Cayuá live scattered in the *mata* or forest, in what seem to be small kinship groups — perhaps extended families — without anything like a true *village* grouping, and of whose numbers, therefore, no count has probably been made. There is, furthermore, a constant exchange of population between the Brazilian and the Paraguayan Cayuá, even at great distances, but especially in the case of those who live very near or on the frontier. Probably even less is known about the numbers of the Paraguayan Cayuá than the Brazilian. Perhaps a reasonable estimate for the Brazilian Cayuá would be something between 2,000 and 4,000, excluding the possibility that there are other nuclei of those forest-dwellers of which we did not hear.

Present-day Economy

A brief survey of what Cayuá economy is at present in the little *aldeia* which we studied may make clearer the discussion of the effects of certain historical events upon the economy. The inhabitants of

[7] Map organized by H. von Ihering, *Revista do Museu Paulista*, vol. VIII, (São Paulo, 1911). A modified version of this map appears with the present article.

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657 them. Some of the older Cayuá say they remember an individual they called "General" who allegedly established for them a much larger territory, which, however, was not apparently surveyed.[18] The present *reservas* of the Cayuá of southern Mato Grosso were probably established not more than 20 or 30 years ago, and any close supervision of them by the S. P. I. is, in most cases, still more recent.[19] The *posto* from which Taquapiry affairs are "supervised" dates only from the 30's, and the supervision is virtually nominal inasmuch as the officer in charge does not seem to visit the place more than three or four times a year.

182 648 433 The expanding white frontier resulted in a limitation of the former territories as well as (in effect somewhat the same thing) a limitation of traditional Cayuá mobility. We shall see that this restriction of territory and mobility inhibited Cayuá economic development in one direction, gradually at first, but finally almost completely: the Cayuá sooner or later found it impossible to live principally by hunting and fishing, with only a supplementary agriculture.

The Question of Cayuá Canoeing

501 178 484 Unless we admit the possibility that there may have been both canoe and non-canoe Cayuá, or at least some differences between Cayuá groups with regard to the extent of use of the canoe, we must be rather impressed by the short space of time which has elapsed since Sampaio and von Koenigswald wrote, around the turn of the century, describing the development of canoe travel. Sampaio records that "the Cayuá are still excellent canoers and very able swimmers, performing veritable feats of skill in the turbulent currents of white-water rivers; they are consummate devotees of river travel."[20] And von Koenigswald writes: "Of the greatest importance to the Cayuá are their canoes... in which they make voyages lasting months.

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[18] This would probably place the time of the first presumed limitation of territory at Taquapiry as about 1905.

[19] Facts and dates concerning the actual establishment of these *reservas* and the S. P. I. administration of them are probably available in the archives of the S. P. I. Unfortunately for the completeness of this paper, such information had not been received at the time of writing. The exact dates, however, are not of primary importance to the present theme.

[20] Sampaio, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

as to why this method of fishing was not still practiced. All admitted that the catch of fish was usually enough to be worthwhile, and, apart from the distance involved in reaching suitable streams, no important disadvantages could be ascribed to *timbó* fishing. It seems possible, however, that the disuse of this technique may be related to the growing emphasis on agriculture and the consequent relative loss of the hunting and gathering type of activity in Cayuá culture.

Forces Making for Intensified Agriculture

Attention has so far been directed toward certain forces presumably making for the decrease among the Cayuá of large-scale hunting and gathering activities. The forces mentioned have been only negative in the sense that they could not actually make for an increase in agricultural activity. We now come to two forces which have had a more positive effect, one of which is perhaps peculiar to the situation of the Cayuá, and the other of which must have been more or less characteristic of practically all indigenous groups who have come into contact with Europeans in Brazil. The first is the guarantee of relative security from attacks by hostile peoples; the second, an improved technology for agriculture made possible by metal tools received from the whites.

Even the scanty references to the Cayuá in the literature leave little doubt that among their traditional enemies, of whom they lived in constant fear, were the Mbaya or Guaycurú peoples to be found to the north and west of the Cayuá territory. Gay,[25] basing his statement on Azara, mentions that in 1746, this warlike people, the Mbaya, "made peace with the Spanish, established themselves in the Tropic of Capricorn, not far from the Rio Paraguay, and turned their arms against the Caaiguás (Cayuá)" as well as against other tribes and other white settlers. Rengger[26] states that at the time of his visit to a Cayuá group, presumably in northeastern Paraguay, a little over a century ago, he was told by the people that they feared to keep dogs or chickens because the barking and the crowing might betray the whereabouts of the group to the enemy, the Mbaya. Von

[25] Gay, Cônego João Pedro, *op. cit.*, fn. 12.
[26] *Op. cit.*, pp. 123-24.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

Koenigswald,[27] emphasizing the reticent nature of the Cayuá in seeking the deepest recesses of the forest in an effort to keep out of harm's way, states that it was not only the whites of whom the Cayuá were afraid but also other hostile Indian tribes, including especially the Mbaya.

It does not seem necessary to dwell upon the difficulties of agriculture with reference to a group which lived in constant fear of enemies and in constant readiness to abandon on short notice any given residence for another.[28] The coming of the whites and the stabilizing influences which they doubtless brought, at least as far as reducing open warfare is concerned, culminated finally in the establishment and reservations in recent years, not only of the Cayuá, but also of the Guaycurú peoples themselves.[29] This served to remove at least one difficulty in the way of an increase in Cayuá agriculture.

A more positive force making for the development of Cayuá agriculture is that of an improved agricultural technology made possible by the *tools* which the Indians received from the Europeans and upon which they have come to depend so completely today. It is difficult to imagine what Cayuá agriculture might be like without the *facão* or *machete*.[30] This tool is used to fell trees — even reasonably large ones if no ax is available, to dig, to clear underbrush, and to plant. It is the *sine qua non* of Cayuá agricultural technique today and could, conceivably, supplant in the technology every white-introduced

[27] *Op. cit.*

[28] The impression that Rengger gives of the Cayuá agriculture of the time of his visit is very much like that of the agriculture of the seminomads of the Malay peninsula with their slash-and-burn technique, their very irregular planting of fields, only to leave them during the growing season and count upon reaping some small portion of the harvest upon passing that way at a later time, during the season of fruit-bearing. It is not difficult, either, to believe that present-day Cayuá agriculture had its origin in such a system: many Cayuá roças still present an aspect, especially when new and just cut and burned from the mata, quite reminiscent of that which Rengger describes. But, in general, Cayuá agriculture of the present is on a much larger scale, roças are much better made and kept, and the whole presents a more settled and permanent appearance.

[29] E. g. the Caduveo of the S.P.I. post "Bananal" in Mato Grosso.

[30] *Facão* is the Portuguese word; the Cayuá, living as they do, surrounded as much by influences from Paraguay as by Brazilian influences, usually say "machete" but with a soft or Portuguese "ch". The effect is roughly that of the average English speaker pronouncing the Spanish word.

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on the highways which lead to Argentina. If the Guarani invasion was brutal, it is because they felt powerful enough to try to take possession of the coveted riches by force. Not long ago the Chiriguano did not hesitate to attack the farms of the creoles if they profited by it or if a wrong had been done to them.

We must remember also that the Guarani were warlike; used to overcoming neighboring tribes, they did not draw back at the prospect of distant expeditions and besides were endowed with a spirit of adventure, which has caused them to be called the "Phoenicians of South America." At the beginning of the 16th century the Guarani were in the full swing of expansion; the crossing of the Chaco was not going to stop them.

The first Guarani who crossed the Chaco and came home again richly clothed, adorned with metal ornaments, doubtless aroused the same attitude which is felt toward any modern Chiriguano who comes back to his village after six months' stay in Argentina. One should see them then, dressed from head to foot, booted and spurred and prancing about proudly on a more or less emaciated horse. Question them about their recollections: with pride they will tell you about their love affairs, will allude to their bloody brawls, and will express their admiration for all the surprising things they have seen. They will talk to you especially about their gains, for they left in order to have knives, axes, heads of cattle. It is those assets which have given them "face" and improved their existence, and the acquisition is clothed in all the charms of adventure and a trip to the land of wonders (1).

1. On the attraction that Peru exerted on the Guarani Indians and on the trips the latter made toward the Cordillera, see the texts cited by Gandia (2, p. 32, notes 1 and 2). This is why the Guarani insisted very strongly that Irala lead them to the land of the Indian "masters of the metal."

In a letter from Martín González (1556) quoted by Gandia, it is said that at Asunción "there are many Indians who have gone, come

Tupinamba SO9
Guarani SM4
Tupi SN7

Ta 175 167 /305 cont./ left in about 1600, arrived ten years later on the middle course of the Amazon on the island of the Tupinambarana after staying at the sources of the Madeira not far from the Andes. The last in date of these ethnic movements of mystical origin is the one which led the Apapokúva-Guarani /Apapocuva/ from the frontier of Paraguay to the coast of Brazil and which lasted more than a century, from 1810 to 1912.

Ti 175 167 The vague knowledge that the Tupi of the Brazilian coast had about the marvels of the Inca Empire explains the trek toward the west of some of these migrations. Having arrived at the sea-coast and seeing that it was impossible to reach the "Land without affliction" in this direction, it is possible that the Tupi began to look for it in the other direction, as did several groups of the Apapokúva-Guarani not long ago. The prestige of the Inca civilization doubtless must have influenced their decision, and in many cases they certainly tended to merge it with that mythical land where they wanted so ardently to go.

Ti [174] If I risk this hypothesis, it is because of the impossibility of explaining otherwise this rush toward Peru which took place in the 16th century among certain Tupi tribes of the coast of Brazil. Ta 174 175 167 993 Such a point of view is not too bold, for otherwise how could one justify the eagerness displayed by the Tupinamba to reach Peru after going up the Amazon in the effort they made in 1539 to enter the "land of immortality and eternal rest"? How can one explain why the Tupinamba came a century later to settle temporarily on the upper Madeira near the Andes, when they too were pursuing the chimera of the "Land without affliction" (2)?

2. When I was concerned with this migration (see Métraux, 1, pp. 22-24), I had believed, on the strength of Acuña, that the cause had been the desire to escape the tyranny of the Portuguese. Nevertheless I was not surprised to learn later while reading Heriarte's book (pp. 41-42) that these Tupinamba had undertaken this long exodus to seek the "Land without affliction." The passage in question is of the greatest interest and must be

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quoted in its entirety: /see the foreign text for the passage quoted in Portuguese/.

Something had to /306/ push them toward the west and determine the choice of their itinerary; the mirage which was attracting them was the one which was to cost the lives of so many Spaniards later on. It is a matter of the "great tidings" of this mysterious country abounding in riches, located beyond the forests toward the setting sun, and which the Tupinamba certainly likened and then merged with the "Land without affliction" about which the old myths told.

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In the same period an analogous tendency to identify the country of the Inca with the one where the culture hero lived can be noted among the Guarani of Paraguay.

There is a very interesting, but seldom cited text which shows very well how the Guarani pictured the Inca Empire at the beginning of the 16th century. By comparing it to what we know of the myths of these same Indians, we shall be able to draw many a curious parallel, and I hope by this means to demonstrate that the Guarani believed they saw in the Inca their culture hero, Candire.

The document in question is found in the Relaciones geográficas de Indias (Vol. II, pp. LXXXIII-LXXXVII), where it comes under the following title: Relación general que se tomó en pública forma y se envió autorizada al virrey en la provincia de los Xarayes, que es en 17 grados sobre el rio Paraguay, 250 (leguas) de la Asumpcion, donde habia llegado el general Nuflo de Chaves con 150 hombres, con órden é intento de poblar en ella, y despues, por la relación que tomó paso adelante /General account which was put in published form and, authorized, was sent to the viceroy in the province of the Xaraye, which, at 17 degrees, is above the Paraguay River, 250 (leagues) from Asunción, where General Nuflo /Nufrio/ de Chaves arrived with 150 men, with orders and intent to colonize in it, and afterwards, by the account that he took further measures/.

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773 193 195 [648] The Spanish, addressing the Uratuvere, who formed a small Guarani colony in the region of the Xaray /Xaraye/, declared to them that they had come to bring them iron, to chastize the bad ones and to reward the good ones. To that the latter answered "that they were very pleased since they had very much wanted to see us in their lands, and that through us they would learn the days and God would not be offended with them and would give them more fruits on the land, and that their chief, Candire, had so wished it." /Translated from the Spanish./ The account continues in these words: "He had asked them where he was and why they called him Candire. He said that he was dead, and as for the reason for the name, he said that in times past his father was called Caya, who united the other neighboring peoples and entered among the Ortugueses /Pl. Il appears here/ /307/ and among the Outes, until he arrived at the towns of Paicocoro, the chief cacique, and the towns of Paiçuri, and he asked for the Candire who is master of the true metal and of all good things." /Translated from the Spanish./ At first sight one sees in this passage an obvious contradiction which can only be explained by the difficulties the Spaniards had in understanding their interlocutor: Candire on the one hand, is represented as a powerful Guarani chief who led them in a migration, and, on the other, he is a personage, "master of the true metal and all good things," in the quest of whom this same Candire left! Let us look further and try to disentangle this confusion. The country where Candire lives is depicted as having "deer with long hair" from which clothes are woven: gold and silver are found there, as well as a yellow metal which smells bad and with which tools are made (copper and bronze). Several lines farther on the Guarani informant declares that in the Sierra de Acharagua there exists a river from which yellow metal is taken: "Asking what Araraguagua (sic) is, they said that it is a very large sierra that continued far, and that one part was delimited by a very large lake, and that in the other part was a very large population of people who had only one chief, who was lord of all, who was called Candire; and that in the latter's presence all joined to

[Text Continues on P. 20]

793 /307 cont./
193 sing with instruments of true metal, in the form of big reeds,
● 195 which made a good sound (these are the Guarani rhythm sticks); and they had others they played with the mouth. He had shown him a trumpet; they said that that chief, Candire, took his father's name, because in that land he killed many candires, who killed all the other people who had left with his father." /Translated from the Spanish./

The country of the Candires is the one where God put all the good things of this world: gold abounds there, one finds there fortresses defended by ditches. The Candire warriors are clothed, their battle-axes are of metal and their shields of gold and silver. In the interior is found white and yellow metal, etc. The land of the great Candire is located, geographically, beyond the Guapay River; to go there one crosses the land of the Timbu, of the Baure (Mbaure) who receive golden objects from the Candires. Near the land of the Candire live the Chiriguano and other Candires, Guarani and, moreover, relatives of the Uratuvere, who gave this information to Nufrio de Chaves.

It is obvious that the land of the Candires is none other than Peru (1). In the great Candire we have no trouble recognizing

1. In the commentaries of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca (Hernández, pp. 288 and 322), it is likewise a matter of the Candires as a people whom we can also identify with some Inca tribe.

the Inca. But why this merging of Candire and a Guarani chief /308/ and then the idealizing of this personage? Finally, what is this migration in search of the great Candire? The key to the problem is furnished us by another text from a slightly later period (1589) which concerns the Guarani of Itati, emigrants into the province of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, that is, among the ancestors of the present-day Guarayú /Guarayu/ and Pauserna. It is a matter of a Jesuit Annua littera (see Métraux, 5, p. 934), in which much is said about these Indians, designated by the name of Itatines because of their country of origin. The anonymous

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Jesuit, author of this letter, tells us that Candire is their god. Actually, even today, Candir has a place among the culture gods or great gods of the Guarayú. In a fragment of Guarayú mythology published by Cardús (p. 76) Candir appears at the beginning of the world in the company of Mbiracucha (Viracocha), Zaguaguayu, Abaangui, and Tamoi. The creation of the Negroes is attributed to Candir.

There is nothing extraordinary in seeing the Inca decked out with the name of a Guarani god or culture hero. Confusion must have been produced there analogous to that provoked nearly everywhere in South America by the arrival of the white men. As we know, the latter have almost always been merged with the culture heroes. In the same way that the Tupinamba and Guarani saw in the first Spanish or Portuguese the descendants of the culture god or hero, it is possible that the ancient Guarani pictured Peru as the mysterious region to which the Great Ancestor had withdrawn; and in the sovereign of that empire they doubtless believed they recognized the culture hero himself, Candire.

All those who know the Indians of tropical America from having seen them will have no difficulty in picturing these migrations of the Guarani toward the Andes.

When an enterprising chief with his "soldiers" succeeded in crossing the Chaco and making some fruitful raid among the Chané, nothing else was needed for the news to spread from mouth to mouth upon their return and arouse everywhere the desire to imitate him and the hope of similar gains. In each village the affair was discussed, the chiefs talked in the evening around the fire or at the time of the great collective drinking bouts, and the young men dreamed of obtaining, in their turn, silver ornaments, bronze axes, and the long woolen shirts in which those who had come back from the land of the Candir dressed. Here and there people decided to leave in the good season to try their luck. The inhabitants of several villages took counsel together to set the date of departure and they prepared for it slowly. The women buried themselves with the provisions, roasted corn and made flour of it or grated manioc which they transformed into cassava bread. Others prepared corn beer for the feast which would precede the departure.

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those routes would already have closed up again with forest and grass ..." /translated from the Spanish/.

From time to time there were skirmishes with the Guaikurú, Samuko /Zamuco/, or Matako /Mataco/ Indians, but for the Guarani, who for a long time had been used to fighting the wild Indians of the Chaco, these combats did not take them by surprise. They contented themselves by attracting the least possible attention by avoiding setting fire to the bush or simply making too much smoke.

None of the details I have just given is the fruit of my fancy. In order to describe these migrations it has been enough to recall the scenes I witnessed among the descendants of these ancient Guarani and to glean some facts from the chronicles or documents in which are recounted for us the crossings of the Chaco made by the Guarani before or during the Spanish conquest. Does anyone want some examples? I take them from the commentaries of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and from the Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala.

/311/ This has to do with the entrada which Governor Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca made into the Chaco in search of a way to the country of the Chané. "The Guarani Indians whom the governor took along lived on what the Governor had them given out of the reserve provisions and on honey which they drew from the trees. They also procured some game for themselves by killing peccaries, tapirs, and deer, which seemed to be abundant in that land; nevertheless, since the band who came with him were numerous, they made noise and put the wild animals to flight, which made the hunting not very fruitful. Spaniards and Indians also ate the fruit of wild trees, of which there was a great quantity ... they took advantage likewise of the fruit of the palm trees which abound in this region. They do not eat dates, but are satisfied to break their pits. The inside is round and like a sweet almond. The Indians make a flour of it, which is an excellent food; they also eat the palm cabbages, which are very good." (Hernández, p. 303.)

1: Métraux--38 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani SM4

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Elsewhere (Hernández, p. 361): "The Spanish, taking with them as guides some Indians and several individuals who said they knew the way, walked for thirty days across deserts where they suffered very much from hunger and thirst, to such a degree that some Indians died .... they returned eating wild thistles all the way. For something to drink they extracted the juice from these thistles and other weeds."

"Aracare .... ordered them (the Guarani who were accompanying a Spanish expedition into the Chaco) to set fire to the prairies they were crossing, which was the equivalent of warning the enemy Indians whose territory they were going through to come and bar their way and kill them. They did that against the custom and discipline observed by those who make expeditions in this country and against the practice of the Indians themselves." (Hernández, p. 228.)

A Guarani from Puerto de los Reyes, who had taken part in an expedition to look for metal, reported to Irala "that he had heard it said that they took five moons before reaching the place where the metal was, and he added that the ones from Ibatin who lived more than a hundred leagues lower asserted that they took no more than three months and claimed that they made this trip in five months since they had to pass so close to the spot where their homes were. He said that what he was claiming was the truth, but that the duration of this trip was due to the fact that they often stayed to eat in regions which appeared fertile and that during the time he was with them they stayed in one place three months and that this was why it took them so long." (Relación de Domingo Martínez de Irala, p. 350.)

Against the frequency of these warlike expeditions of the Guarani, there /312/ will be raised the objection of the insurmountable obstacles the Chaco presents, the unprecedented difficulties the Europeans had in trying to cross it, the bloody sacrifices all the expeditions risking it must have made. I shall reply by reporting the account of a contemporary migration made to me by my old friend and host, "Captain" Tarairí of Caiguipendí. Some years ago, old Tarairí, having learned

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In olden days numerous Paraguayans emerged into our territory near the Isoso and they went to fight on the side of the Guarayú and Santa Cruz. From there they went on to Cochabamba. They gave battle over there, then went to Oruro. Their colonel was killed. They scattered in every direction. One of them came to Macharetí where the "Capitan grande," Mandepora, was. The latter told Cipriano, who was then a young man: "Let us go to Paraguay." Mandepora had given this Paraguayan ten "soldiers." Cipriano did not want to go with them. The ten went down the Pilcomayo and arrived at a village near Paraguay. /Plate III appears here./ /313/ A soldier richly decked out with silver, with a horse whose harness was of the same metal, came to meet them to examine them. The Paraguayan they were escorting went to speak with this soldier, but the others did not hear what they were saying. While these two were talking, they saw the Tuba arrive with a piece of cloth between their legs and their chests and arms painted with charcoal. The Tuba asked them where they were coming from and where they were going. The Chiriguano answered: "To visit you." The Tuba refused to allow them to continue on their way, although they were only one league from Paraguay. As an excuse they told them that they were in the act of making war. The Paraguayan rode behind the soldier, and the ten Chiriguano returned to Macharetí.

The first part of this story seems to be a modern adaptation of Aleixo García's adventure. I do not know what event could have given rise to this legend, which, had it been true, would have been very much to the taste of the Paraguayan government. As for the trip of the ten Chiriguano from Macharetí, it has the appearance of being wholly authentic.

The crossing of the Chaco is a less difficult undertaking for Indians than for white men. Formerly these trips from the Andes to Paraguay must have been facilitated by a greater density of the native population. It is enough to recall the relatively easy trip of Juan de Ayolas going from Paraguay to the country of the Chané and coming back without having to cope with any particular obstacles. The exploration of Alvar Núñez

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 30]

1: Métraux--50 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10 Guaraní SM4

E 195 M64

/313 cont./ The exploration of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, continued by his lieutenant, Francisco de Ribera, is a second example that shows very well that the excursions of the Guaraní did not constitute exceptional deeds that were extremely dangerous to accomplish.

Having arrived at a certain distance from the spurs of the Andes, the Guaraní entered the territory of the Chané Indians.

It was in one of these numerous warlike ventures of the Guaraní that the Portuguese adventurer Alejo García took part with several other comrades.

E 195 M64

I am convinced that the 2,000 (according to Díaz de Guzmán, p. 76) Guaraní whom this adventurer accompanied as far as Peru formed only one of the numerous bands of warriors of this nation who, each year, from every point of the Guaraní territory, used to cross the Paraguay River, then the deserts of the Chaco.

E 195 M64

Ruy Díaz de Guzmán, who reports this event, sees things in too simple a light. A migration is not made at one time nor in one year. That of the Guaraní lasted perhaps several decades, without, however, necessarily speaking of centuries. Twenty or thirty years must have sufficed for the nucleus of the Chiriguano nation to form between the upper Pilcomayo and the Guapay River. The penetration of the Guaraní into /314/ the Chaco took place in a rather chaotic and incoherent fashion. The conquistadors were continually meeting on their route Guaraní groups who, for one reason or another, could not succeed in joining their brothers established beyond the Chaco. These Guaraní, who blazed the trails followed by the invaders, were valuable guides for the Spanish adventurers, and they were the ones who led them to Peru. For long years there were uninterrupted communication and incessant coming and going between Paraguay and the eastern slope of the Bolivian Andes.

I: Métraux--31 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani SM4
Inca SE13

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Making a critical study of Alejo García's story would be to follow paths already traced out and, besides, to leave the province of ethnography. This episode of the Conquest, so closely mingled with an ethnic phenomenon, appears today as a major event whose repercussions on the development of the Provinces of the Río de la Plata were considerable.

Alejo García's expedition is distinguished from the preceding ones by its scope. Not content to raid the Chané, the Guarani Indians who formed this column had the audacity to attack the Inca fortresses of Cuzco-Toro and, after taking them by storm, to penetrate as plunderers into the provinces under the authority of the Peruvian emperor. The invaders crossed the frontier between Misque and Tomina and advanced 40 leagues into the interior. Near the villages of Presto and Tarabuco, not far from Chuquisaca, they were stopped by the Charcas Indians, according to Díaz de Guzmán, by troops raised in the Kontisuyu, according to Peruvian chronicles. The Guarani withdrew in good order, without abandoning the conquered booty.

Huayna Capac, following this invasion which took place during his reign, had the destroyed forts restored and put strong garrisons in them.

The Guarani invasion into Tahuantinsuyu is reported at the same time by the chroniclers of Paraguay and those of Peru (1).

1. Sarmiento de Gamboa, pp. 109-110: "While Guayna Capa was occupied in this war with the Cayambi's, the Chiriguanas, a mountain people, naked, and who eat human flesh and have a public slaughter house for it, joined together and, coming out from the hardness of the mountains, entered the land of the Charcas, which had been conquered by the inga /Inca/ of Piru /Peru/. And they fell on the fortress of Cuscotuyo, where the inga had a large garrison of frontier troops against the Chiriguanaes. And as they suddenly sallied forth, they entered the fortress and killed them all and among those of the land.

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they caused great destruction, robberies, and deaths.

"This news went to Guayna Capac in Quito, who received it with great sorrow and immediately sent a captain of his, named Yasca, to Cuzco to form an army, and with it he was to go to wage war on the Chiriguanaes. The captain left for Cuzco, taking with him the guacas /huacas/, Catiquilla of Caxamarca and Guamachuco and Curichaculla of the Chachapoyas and the guaca Tomayrica and Chinchaycoaha with many of the guacas' own men. And he arrived in Cuzco where he was very well received by the governors named Apo Hilaquita and Auqui Topa Inga, and, forming his army, he left Cuzco for the Charcas. And on the way he took many troops from Collao, with which he came to the Chiriguanaes and waged cruel war and took some of them prisoner, whom he sent as specimens to Guayna Capac in Quito, so that he might see the strangeness of that people. And Captain Yasca rebuilt the fortresses which were there, and, putting in them the necessary garrison, he returned to Cuzco, where he dismissed the troops, and each one went back to his land." /Translated from the Spanish./

Santa Cruz Pachacuti, p. 304: "And at this time (of the Inca Huayna-capac) there came the news that the Cheriguanaes had come forth to take the lands of the yuga, which news upset the yuga, and so he sent the most experienced captains for the conquest of the Chiriguanaes, with 20,000 Chinchaysuyo men." /Translated from the Spanish./

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Balboa, p. 105: "But this fiesta was interrupted by the news from Cusco that the Chiriguanes, a cruel and brave people, had killed the garrisons of the frontiers and leveled the whole country as far as Chuquisaca and its surroundings. Guayna-Cápac was disturbed by this news, disguised his grief as much as he could, and called to command his army a man full of bravery and intrepidity, named Yasca, whom he ordered to punish this aggression. Yasca departed from Tumibamba at the head of the best of the ingas soldiers; moreover, he had orders to recruit from Caxamarca on all the men that he found, in order to wage the war which he was going to undertake; and in order to arouse their valor he ordered each nation to bring with it the great Guaca of its country, which is an idol besides, and to which they very frequently come. He arrived at Cusco with a large army made up of different nations; through all parts the governors welcomed him with affection and gave him great honors. Provided with everything that he might need and his army augmented with the best men from Collao, he continued on his way with the utmost speed in pursuit of the Chirihuanas; many battles were joined, without any victory declared by either of the two armies. Nevertheless Yasca took some prisoners, whom he sent to Quito. He repaired the damage that the enemies had done in the country, and he left a new garrison in the fortresses and on the frontiers; afterward he returned to Cusco, where the governors rewarded the soldiers who had distinguished themselves and permitted them to return to their countries, taking their Guacas, or idols." /Translated from the Spanish./

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Cieza de Leon, p. 228: "(Guayna Capac) sent captains with troops of war to the Chiriguanaes; but things did not go well for them,

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for they returned, fleeing." /Translated from the Spanish./

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They agree /Plate IV appears here/ /315/ on the essential fact and on the approximate date of the event. This coincidence between traditions whose sources are so different and which have been collected independently from each other in regions as far apart as this leaves absolutely no doubt about the purely historic nature of this invasion. Nordenskiöld (5, pp. 70-77) in the course of his last trip into the Chaco (1913-14) was able to study the ruins of the small forts of Cuzco-Toro (today Incahuasi), which always stand at the edge of Chiriguano country. By their style they belong to the Inca period. Nordenskiöld (7) and I had thought that García's expedition was the first in date that the Guarani had launched toward Peru. In reality, other Guarani emigrations preceded it by several years, as Gandía (2, p. 30) (1) succeeded in /316/ establishing.

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1. Gandia (2, p. 30, note 1) cites various passages taken from old, reliable documents which seem to indicate that García's expedition had been preceded by other previous migrations which, starting from Paraguay, had ended up in the establishment of Guarani groups beyond the Chaco. Thus the Tarapecoci recounted to Francisco Ribera how in ancient times, before García, the Guarani had come to plunder and massacre them.

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A Relación anónima /Anonymous Account/ of 1545 (pp. 310-311) reports in these words the remarks of some Chané Indians who were questioned by Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca at the time of his expedition on the upper Paraguay: "among the people found there are certain yndios /Indians/ who are from the interior country, those of the chane people

[Text Continues on P. 36]

/315 cont./

E 167 175 721 726 Ce 648 569

/fn. 1 cont./ who came to us themselves and others from near their land, and what they say agrees with what this one or that one tells us, and they say that they were slaves of a xristiano /Christian/ who came from the island of santa catalina and demanded gold and silver and they say that he got them from a race of carioes who took them for slaves and it was said the xrisptiano garçia, etc." /translated from the Spanish/. This passage seems to indicate that García and his companions found Guarani already established at the foot of the Andes and that the latter had already reduced Chané groups into slavery.

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The most significant of these texts is the one we find in the Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 346-347. Irala was at Puerto de los Reyes on the Paraguay River when "on the brigantine where he was, there came a principal with three other yndios /Indians/ who spoke the guarani language just like the guaranis themselves; the said principal said that he is called theroçe, and one yndio of those who came with him, who was small in body, said that he was called xagoani and the guaranys called him maraana; without being asked anything, he said he had lived and had been a slave without pay /esclavo de gracia/, that the yndios named him maratya and called him by the two names; he and the said principal and all his house were not from the said port and they were the ones that were called chanes; asked through the said languages why they were called chanes, he said they were of the race of the chanes who were in the interior land and who are called çeritocoçi and that thus among the

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/fn. 1 cont./ said chanes each pueblo had its name, although all were one race; asked how they came to speak guarany and where he knew the said garçia, he said that the reason he spoke goarany was that in times past, before garçia came from brasil /Brazil/ to the said guaranys, there was a great gathering of said guaranys in the port called ytatyn, in order to go to search for the metal, and that passing through their land at night they came upon their houses and killed many of them and took their women and children and brought them to the said port of ytatyn, and while they were slaves of the said goaranys in the said port, the said garçia passed through there, with whom he and two other brothers went in search of said metal with the said guaranys; asked if he went and traveled with the said Garçia until he returned, he said yes; asked how far the said garçia had gone and where he got the metal that he carried, he said that he had gone as far as the race that they call payçunos, and that the chanes and the said payçunos gave him the said metal and that he had returned from there because he learned that a race called çorocotoquis were having a great gathering against the said garçia and those who went with him, and he said that they returned to get more xrisptianos in order to return with them for the said metal ..." /translated from the Spanish/.

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This testimony and some other indications corroborate Gandía, who in this study gave evidence not only of vast erudition but also great sagacity. There is nevertheless one point on which I do not agree with him. The documents alluding to the migration of the Guarani all speak of it as a recent event whose details were

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/fn. 1 cont./ still present in everyone's memory. Even if we accept Garcilaso's version and make that event go back to the reign of Tupac Inca Yupanki, it is still no less certain that it could only have taken place in the last decades of the 15th century. It is indeed at this time, according to Balboa, that the emperor Tupac Inca Yupanki would have reigned. (See Nordenskiöld, 6). In this case the first Guarani migration would have preceded García's trip by about 50 years. Why then does Gandía, who himself gives us this figure, consider it more probable that this invasion took place more than a century before the Conquest? When I personally submitted to Mr. Gandía the reservations I had on the subject of the date he was assigning to the establishment of the Guarani at the foot of the Andes, he answered that he had taken as a basis for this evaluation a passage from Lozano (Descripción chrorográfica...) and Mendiburn (Diccionario Histórico Biográfico del Perú...). According to the latter the Inca Yupanki would have died in 1453. I shall reply to this objection by stating that the evidence of Lozano, who was satisfied to copy Garcilaso, has no value; and as for Mendiburn's calculation, I do not grant him any credence.

One single fact remains certain in this controversy: The Guarani had begun their migratory movement toward Peru some years before García's adventurous trip.

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/316/ establishing. Neither was Alejo García's expedition the determining cause of the great migration of which Díaz de Guzmán (p. 29) speaks thus:

"Following these events (García's trip) the Indians of the Province of Paraguay met together with their caciques and

/316 cont./
G decided to make an expedition and go back to the region where
175 Alejo García had gone. When they had summoned many Indians
167 of this province, they started going by bands and tribes. The
Indians from below, the ones from the Paraná, followed the
G course of the Araguay River, which is, as I have said, the
131 Pilcomayo. These are the Indians who today live on the
175 borders of the Corregimiento de Tarija: the Indians who lived
167 in the region of Asunción entered on the right of the Paraguay
River in the direction of Caáguazú. The Indians of
Jeruquisaba and Carayazapera who were living higher up on
the river left it near San Fernando. The latter are the ones
who today are established on the Guapay River /317/ 20 leagues
from the city of San Lorenzo, government of Santa Cruz da la
Sierra."

G "... the commentaries of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca
C (Hernández, pp. 299-301), it is a question of another migra-
175 tion which does not appear to have any relation to that of
167 García, which was several years later. I shall quote this passage
648 in its entirety, for it illustrates well certain vicissitudes of this
great ethnic movement: Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca had sent
a Spanish detachment to the Xarayes Indians to try to confer,
with them as intermediaries, with a group of Guarani Indians
who had settled a short time before in their neighborhood.
The emissaries failed in their attempt, for Xaray and Guarani
were irreconcilable enemies. By way of consolation, the
Xaray cacique had put them in touch with a Guarani Indian,
married to a Xaray woman, who had lived among them for a
long time. "This Indian, who belonged to the Guarani race,
had been in the villages of the interior of the lands and /318/
knew the roads which led there." The Guarani was invited to
accompany the Spanish detachment and, interrogated before
the Governor by interpreters, he declared "that he was a Guarani,
originally from Itatí /Fig. 1 appears here/ on the Paraguay River;
that in his youth his people summoned and made a great levy
G of Indians of all the land and went toward the land and the
[721] villages of the interior. He himself had gone there with his
[726] father and his relatives to make war on the natives of this region.

[Text Continues on P. 41]

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175 167 727 726 They took from them the gold and silver plaques and ornaments they had. As soon as they arrived at the first villages they began to make war on the inhabitants and to kill many Indians. Many villages were laid waste and the inhabitants withdrew toward the interior. Then all the tribes of this land joined together and marched against his people, put them to rout, and caused great carnage. The others fled in various directions and the enemy Indians followed them, barred their way, and massacred them all. Scarcely 200 were able to escape out of all those who had left and who were so numerous that the fields were covered with them. He himself was among those who escaped. The greatest number of escapees stayed in the bush through which they had passed and settled there, for they had not dared retrace their steps for fear that the Guaxarapo, Guato, and other tribes would exterminate them. He himself had not wanted to live with them and he left with those who decided to continue their march. On the way they were seen by Indians who assailed them at night and killed them all. He had hidden in the thickness of the copse and, slipping through the underbrush, he had arrived in the country of the Xaray, who had taken and adopted him for a long time. Finally, since their fellow-feelings were mutual, they gave him a woman of the tribe as a wife. He was asked whether he had any recollection of the route he and his people had taken to go into the interior. He answered that it was a long time ago that he had taken this route and that then the people of his tribe cleared a passage for themselves by cutting trees and cleaning out the underbrush with which this land was covered. He supposed that since that time brambles and weeds must have overrun the path. He had not gone there any more, nor had he been to see it again. Nevertheless, it seemed to him that if he began to follow it, he would be able to continue; and that this route began near a rounded mountain which could be seen from Puerto de los Reyes. He was questioned also on the number of days necessary to reach the first of these villages. He said that, according to his recollection, one could get there in five days and great provisions would be found there, for the Indians are excellent farmers.

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/319 cont./

there, for the Indians are excellent farmers. In the course of the war with these populations the Indians of his tribe, he added, destroyed and depopulated numerous villages, but doubtless they had already rebuilt them. He was asked whether there were large rivers and springs along the way. He answered that he saw rivers, but that they did not have much water; however, there were other very deep ones, springs, lagoons, game, deer and tapirs, fruits and honey. He was asked whether at the time his people made war on these tribes he had seen any who had silver and gold. He said that in the villages they pillaged there were many silver and gold plaques, /320/ labrets, ear ornaments, bracelets, crowns, axes, small vessels; and that it was all taken away from them when they were put to rout. Those who escaped were able to take along some silver plaques, beads, labrets; but the Guaxarapo stole them when they tried to pass through their territory and killed them. Those who settled in the bush had a few, and he had heard it said that at the present time it was the Xaray who possessed this silver. He declared he had seen the Xaray, when they war upon the Indians, take out silver plaques which they had carried away and plundered in the interior lands."

Against this bundle of proofs attesting to the recent character of the Guarani migration, what is the value of Garcilaso de la Vega's vague affirmation (Vol. II, pp. 279-281) which some people want to oppose to it? According to this kind narrator, the Inca Yupanki would have undertaken the conquest of the Chiriguano country for the virtuous purpose of converting them to the good natural religion of the Peruvians. The Chiriguano would have been veritable monsters, feeding on human flesh, uniting by chance, living without fire or law, burying the bones of their dead in caves or in the hollows of trees. In a word, except for anthropophagy and the mention of the maloca (1), there is nothing in the picture of the

1. The description Garcilaso (Vol. II, p. 281) gives us of the large house of the Chiriguano is perfectly exact and very

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In 1550 during the expedition made by Domingo Martínez de Irala from Paraguay to the slopes of the Andes, 150 Guarani Indians out of those he had with him as auxiliary troops mutinied when they learned that they were in the vicinity of Chiriguano Indians "who are of the same nation." They deserted in order to go and join them. In 1548 the same thing had already happened (Díaz de Guzmán, p. 142).

The Guarayú and the Pauserna are brothers of the Chiriguano and, like them, came from Paraguay at a recent date to settle in eastern Bolivia. Nordenskiöld (7), without giving any proof, correlates their migration with that of the Chiriguano and fixes its date at the beginning of the 16th century. The Guarayú would have been none other than the descendants of those Guarani who, having left northern Paraguay, would have gone obliguely toward the northwest in their trek toward the setting sun. I myself shared this opinion for a long time, until my attention was attracted by an episode in the history of the conquest which obliged me to recognize my error, at the same time permitting me to solve the problem of the origin of the Guarayú.

The Itatin, known nowadays by the names Guarayú and Pauserna, actually came from Itatin province in Paraguay (1);

1. The former province of Itatí in Paraguay extended to the south of the Apa River, formerly the Corrientes River.

but it is not a question of a migration in the usually understood sense, and their establishment in eastern Bolivia was later than that of the Chiriguano.

Nufrio de Chaves, going from Santa Cruz de la Sierra to Asunción in 1563, stopped among the Itatin and plotted with the chiefs of this tribe to transplant the Indians of this region beyond Paraguay. The project was carried out the following year when the Governor of Paraguay, Vergara, and Nufrio de Chaves organized the famous exodus toward Peru. While passing through the country of the Itatin, Nufrio de Chaves raised

1: Métraux--46 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano
Chané SF8
Guarayu SF11
Guarani SF12
Arawakan Indians SR6

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Thus, it is in 1564 that the Guarayú nation was formed.

In emigrating to the foot of the Andes, the Guarani had to win their present territory from populations who, like them, had formerly come from the basin of the great rivers of tropical America.

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In spite of the similarity of their original habitats, the Indians dispossessed by the Guarani were superior to them in civilization. The Chiriguano even today scornfully style them tapii, that is, "enemies," but they call themselves Chané, and it is by this name that they appear in history from the first half of the 16th century.

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The Chané, hard-working farmers and past masters in the art of pottery, belong to the great Arawak linguistic family.

The role of the Arawak in the development of civilization in South America has been considerable. Unfortunately, lacking any work of synthesis (1), it is still difficult to

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1. Max Schmidt's thesis (1) on the Arawak contains some interesting facts. It should be redone because its documentation is completely insufficient. Max Schmidt took almost no notice of the old literature.

appreciate the true value of /323/ the civilizing work they accomplished in swarming over a great part of the continent. It is possible, if not certain, that they were propagators of cultural elements borrowed from the peoples of Central America rather than original creators. Nevertheless, wherever they settled they formed centers of civilization whose radiance is undeniable. In the whole region east of the Andes where ceramics of fine quality flourished or still flourish, one can suspect the existence or influence of an Arawak tribe. Is proof wanted? On the banks of the Amazon, from the mouth to the tributaries of its upper course, one finds at each step remains of a pottery with great richness of ornamentation and varied forms; wherever the spade has brought these remains to light, history attests to the presence, present or past, of an

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1: Métraux--51 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Guarani SM4

Ce 175 648 [797]

/325 cont./ of subjection which attached them to the Chiriguanos as a matter of fact, in the 18th century great social transformations took place and little by little they tried to free themselves from their servitude."

There is little to add to this account by Kersten (pp. 69-71), so clear and exact. However, I should like to complete it by quoting some texts of the 16th century which illuminate the drama of which the Chané had been the victims since the end of the 15th century.

E 175 72 167 Ce 175 648 E [266] Ce [113]

The war of extermination made by the Guarani on the Chané dates from their first migrations to the country of metal. Thus it was that the Chané who, as we have seen, recounted to Irala the great exodus of the Guarani of Itatí before García's expedition, was taken along by the latter as a slave on the banks of the Paraguay. The Guarani, passing through his country at night, had attacked the homes of his people and taken women and children as captives. Later, this Chané was a member of García's expedition. Upon the death of the latter, the Guarani got ready to kill him to devour him as they had done with his companions and several women. He was able to escape and take refuge among the Guaxarapo (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 347-348).

C G 175 72 567 Ce 175 648

In an account that a Guarani gave to the same Irala about the expedition in which he had taken part to go to the country of metal, he speaks of the /326/ Chané exactly as the Chiriguano will do a century later; "They fell," says he, "on the houses of slave and enemy Indians." This term "slaves" applied to the Chané characterizes well the relations the Chiriguano had with them until not long ago (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 330). In the middle of the interview a Chané challenged our Guarani to ask him whether he had been present when the people of Itatí destroyed his tribe. When the Guarani inquired who he was, he replied: "I am the chief of the slaves of whom you speak, and, taken prisoner at the time you say, I lived with these Guarani until the moment when I went away and came here. The land you speak of is mine. Why do you not tell the truth to the Christians who are asking for nothing else but the way to

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E 175 567 72 go in search of metal? The aforesaid Indian answered: "They do not understand that I am only telling them that they can go to the country of the Chané in nine days." While they were speaking with this Indian, the aforesaid Cheroçe, chief of the Ce 175 648 Chané, was conversing with a woman of his tribe who as a girl had been kidnapped by these Indians whose chief had taken her as his wife. She said that it was correct that from the last houses of the aforesaid Guarani only four days were required to go as far as Ytapua and that from there, according to what Cheroçe claimed, one could go to his country in three days. He knew the way very well, for he had been brought up over there, but up to the present he had had no news of his country. (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 350.)

These facts prove that well before García's adventure the Guarani raided the Chané territory and were already beginning to make slaves of its inhabitants.

E 175 567 72 "When Guarani bands arrived on the slopes of the Andes, each one tried to occupy as strong a position as possible on the most craggy points. From there they began to make pitiless war on the natives of the region, treating them with such cruelty that they spared nobody and made their fodder of the unfortunates they captured. They made themselves so fearsome that numerous villages submitted to them without violence. With the slaves they took to serve them and with all the women by whom they had children they populated these frontiers, each one choosing the region which seemed best to him. These Indians are the ones we call Chiriguana in Peru today; they originate from the Guarani. They never went out from this country, either because of the great hardships and risks of the road or in order to keep in their power this land which they found consonant with their nature and taste. It is indeed very fertile, with large and marvelous valleys which are warm rather than cold; and it is crossed by deep rivers coming from the neighboring province of Charcas. In possession of this land, they made numerous /327/ warlike expeditions in it, ruining the E [266] [439] plains to the north, the south, and the east. They killed more than 100,000 Indians. In the beginning they used to eat them in the feasts and drinking bouts which they celebrated, but

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they have not done it any more for some years and sell them to the Spanish for the shoddy goods the latter give them in exchange. Indeed, they consider it more profitable to sell them for objects they need than to eat them. Their cupidity is such that there is no year when they do not go out to make war in the plains, with great trouble and at the risk of their lives, solely to procure prisoners. Among these Indians there are some individuals so rich that in addition to clothes of cloth and silk they have silver dishes, a service which costs as much as 500 marcs. Without counting a great number of horses saddled and bridled, with good harnesses, and all kinds of weapons which they owe to the thefts and plundering they do in the course of these unjust and pernicious wars. Up to the present no one has been able to bridle their cruelty or stop the disorder and insolence of these people. They have committed many offenses and lacked respect for the royal Power, taking up arms against Francisco de Toledo, who was viceroy of this kingdom. Besides, they have killed and stolen from the Spanish and have inflicted outrages of all kinds on them, depopulating villages, killing and pillaging the fields and farms of the vassals of His Majesty who live on these frontiers of Tarija, Paspaya, Pilaya, Tomina, and Mizque, and the government of Santa-Cruz de la Sierra." (Díaz de Guzmán, pp. 30-31.)

"The Chiriguana (sic) live near these valleys (Tomina and Lagunilla) in warm mountains covered with trees where horses can scarcely walk. They are not natives of this country but foreigners come from Río de la Plata. The language is the same and does not differ from it in any way... The Indians toward whom they are most hostile inhabit a province behind these mountains, a very flat land lacking water, which is called Llano de Manso or the province of the Chané. These Chané are inoffensive people but of good tendencies, of a more congenial appearance and a better nature than the Chiriguana. The latter have eaten more than 60,000 of them, and I do not believe I am saying very many, for these plains were very heavily populated. At present there are only a few Indians, and as they have no one to defend them, these

1: Métraux--277 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Tup-Guaran SL6
Tupinamba SD9
Guaran SF6
Chané SF8

/436 cont./

animals or human beings. There is nothing like that among the Chiriguano. The simplicity /437/ of their fabrics forms a striking contrast with the richness and variety of the decoration of their pottery. Their inferiority in this respect is far from corresponding to the skillfulness which is their wont in all their activities. It is enough to see the admirable pieces of work executed by little Chiriguano girls in the missions to realize what they would have been capable of if historic traditions had not held them away from this art. Their distant Tupi-Guarani ancestors were acquainted with only rudimentary forms of weaving, and it can be asserted that /Fig. 96 appears here/ this industry remained foreign to all the Tupi tribes which did not undergo the influence of a nation more civilized than they. The Tupinamba of the Brazilian coast apparently practiced only the double-thread technique (Doppelfadentechnick) by means of which they used to make their hammocks. The ancient chroniclers note the use of the tipoy among the ancient Guarani of Paraguay, which is an indication of the existence of weaving among that subdivision of the Tupi family. Their present-day descendants, the Kaingué /Caingua/, could pass for good weavers to judge by the fineness of the several fabrics which have been collected among them. These are for the most part wide belts which they pass between their legs and knot around their loins. In reality, weaving is in its beginnings among them. /438/ as is shown by their loom. It is only a simple frame around which the warp threads are coiled. The woof is passed through, thread after thread, as in darning.

No doubt it was the Chané who taught the Chiriguano to weave, and as they had probably not reached a /Fig. 96 appears here/ very high level in this art, they could only transmit to their successors and suzerains, the Chiriguan, a still little-developed technique, which the latter have scarcely improved on.

In Schmidt--6 E-6 (1926) 1928 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani SM4
Chaco SF8
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C G 181 17
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and divides (7) the sum of Chiriguano cultural elements into

2. Novd. I. pp. 196-213.

different categories depending on whether they received them from the whites, from the culture of the ancient Peruvians, or from the Mataco, Toba, and other tribes of the Chaco, or have them in common with the tribes of the north and the race related to them, as well as those that they brought with them from their primordial homes between the Paraná River and the Paraguay River. In what follows we shall often run into this matter, and inasmuch as these cultural influences have taken place in historical times and we know the history of the Chiriguano through existing documents dating from the first days of the Spanish conquest, I would like to make a resumé of these historical data in what follows, insofar as they have influenced the cultural development of the Chiriguano and Chané.

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In one of my previous publications which appeared in this journal, entitled "Los Guaraní," I ran into the point at issue, to wit: whether the first Guaraní immigration into the western regions of the Paraguayan Chaco took place before the expedition of the Portuguese Alejo García to Peru or whether it took place after that time. In that paper I then deduced that it can be supposed that before Alejo García's expedition there were no Guaraní in the western regions of the Paraguayan Chaco, because no author mentions that García, who was accompanied by many Guaraní, had met other Guaraní in those regions. With this opinion that the Guaraní immigration to the west occurred after García's expedition, which is based principally on indications by Guzmán, the opinions of Manuel Domínguez and Erland Nordenskiöld also agree. This question of the Guaraní invasion into the western part of the Paraguayan Chaco is also dealt with in detail by Pelgrancio R. Moreno in his work Cuestión de límites con Bolivia (3). In that place (4) Moreno

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3. Ministerio de Relaciones. Cuestión de Límites con Bolivia. Negociaciones diplomáticas. 1913-

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Dr Schmidt--T 8-5 (1988) 1998 IP10 Chiriguano Ms.
Guarani GH4

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● 195 [113] 1897. Second edition. Vol. 3: Réplica a la exposición del Señor Ministro de Bolivia Dr. Don Ricardo Mujía por el Plenipotenciario del Paraguay Don Policarpio S. Moreno /A reply to the exposition of the Minister of Bolivia, Dr. Don Ricardo Mujía, by the Plenipotentiary of Paraguay, Don Policarpio S. Moreno/. Asunción, 1898. Cited in what follows: Moreno S. Pages 81-84 and 88-91.

6. Moreno S. pp. 84-88.

is reproduced a document which, I believe, serves to clear up this much discussed point. This is the report that Father Alcaya, Curate of Misiones, wrote for the Viceroy of Peru, the Marquis of Monres Claros. This report says that the Inca in Peru, before the Spaniards came to Paraguay, commissioned one of his descendants named Guacane to conquer the llanos of Grigota. Guacane's project was quite successful, especially because he had been well received by the great cacique Grigota, who reigned over this province. With the aid of his brother Condori, who was sent after him and to whom was entrusted the exploitation of the mines of Ayguaza, he obtained a great deal of gold and silver in the country. The natives respected him and he employed them in tilling maize fields and helped them in hunting. Through the Indians of the llanos rumors of the wealth of the brothers, Guacane and Condori, reached the ears of the Guaraní in Paraguay, who recruited a force of 8,000 Indians and came in three divisions with their women and children, westward from the Xarayes. Of the 8,000 Guaraní, 1,000 remained in the province of Itatins; 2,000 marched against the Inca Mango and were destroyed until they were reduced to a few by the Peruvians. The largest division, 5,000 Indians, first marched to the region of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, and there they subjugated the humble and unwarlike people of that region. /Plates I-II appear here./ /5/ They remained

[Text continues on p. 10]

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there for one winter, sending out their spies to the Llanos of Grigota, where King Guacane was resting without care with his men. Unexpectedly one night the Guaraní surprised the King and his men, more than 20,000 Indians, and killed many, among them King Guacane. Grigota, the previous ruler of this country, was seriously wounded. From there the Guaraní victors set out toward the cordillera where Candori, the dead king's brother, was exploring the mines. Leaving their women and children at the foot of the cordillera with a guard, they climbed the mountain and on the following night killed the miners and captured Captian Candori. The Guaraní then found the fortresses of Guanacripampa and Sevayppetta abandoned by their garrisons. In Sevayppetta they found only the women of the Incas, whom they took with them as prisoners. They also found a great deal of gold on Ayporon Mountain. After these successes the Guaraní established themselves in the cordillera, where they also remained in the following period. The Guaraní won another victory over the Peruvians when they overcame Captain Lucana, whom the Inca had charged with rebuilding the fortification of Cerro de Ayporon. The Guaraní came out to meet the Peruvians and, at a short distance, smashed them and killed more than 6,000 of them. But after that their triumphal march against the Peruvians came to an end. Retiring to their headquarters on the Cordillera, the Indians gathered together by Grigota prepared a surprise for them which had complete success. Five hundred Guaraní were killed and 300 fell prisoner and were taken to Cuzco, where they were condemned by the Inca to suffer death by cold on the snow-capped peaks of the Andes.

Father Alcaya's report is of much interest because it provides us with two important clues about the first immigration of the Guaraní. The report tells us about the death of King Guaciane. According to Alvar Nuñez, this king was still alive when Alejo García returned from his expedition to Peru (1).

1. Moreno II, p. 90.

Guaraní 284

/1 cont./

It thus follows that the battles between the Peruvians and the Guaraní described in Father Alcaya's report and the settling of the Guaraní on the cordilleras must have taken place after García's expedition. An even more certain clue is given us by a passage in the report which mentions the name "Mango Inga" (7). The following is said there: The Alcaya "gave them

6. Moreno II, p. 88.

more definite news of the *collcas* and showed them silver clasps and small silver rings for their lows, which King Guacane had sent them from Grigota, scarcely 100 leagues away, and similarly gave them certain news of Mango Inga, who was not resting after his new conquest toward the north and the east, but was beginning to put into effect and overrun the land with his good government." Mango Inga was the legitimate successor of the Inca Huascar, who had been killed by his brother Atahualpa, whom Pizarro, at his request, had helped to realize his claims to the throne and with whom he entered the Inca capital on November 15, 1533. This Inca Manco died after his variable battles with the Spaniards in the year 1544. According to this, the battles between the Peruvians and the Guaraní and the first settlement of the Guaraní on the crests of the cordillera in the west of the Paraguayan Chaco, which was contemporaneous with these battles, must have occurred between 1533 and 1544, and probably at the beginning of this period of time, because the last years of Inca Manco's life were much taken up with his battles against the Spaniards. According to Dr. Manuel Domínguez' opinion (7), García's expedition took

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7. Dr. Manuel Domínguez: "Paraguay-Bolivia. Cuestión de límites." Lectures. Asunción, 1927, p. 11. Cf. Moreno II, p. 84.

place between 1524 and 1526. This is very much in accord with the fact that the Guaraní, who through García's expedition had learned of the riches of Perú, and beyond that had received reports of the riches of the country belonging to the brothers /5/ Guacane and Condori through the Indians of the Llanos, determined about ten years later to emigrate in large numbers, accompanied by their women and children, to this rich land. We must then fix the first settlement of the Guaraní in the regions in the west of the Paraguayan Chaco as having taken

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place after García's expedition. But it is possible that in the interval, and perhaps also before García's expedition, the Guaraní might have made smaller forays to the western regions "to the land within," as is said in the report of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca. Doubtless it is one of these forays that is dealt with in the description given to Alvar Núñez by a Guaraní who had lived among the Chaneyes. The Indians of his generation, that is, the Guaraní of Itatí, "sent out a great call and held a gathering of Indians of the whole land, and they went to the land and the settlements of the land within." They made war upon the Indians of this land and took from them the sheets and jewels that they had of gold and silver, despoiled many towns, and killed many Indians. But afterward their adversaries joined together, attacked them in great number, and killed nearly all of them. The rest fled into the mountains (8). On the sixth day after his departure

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8. Moreno II, p. 86. Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, Comentarios históricos, N. 32, pp. 100, 102, and 103.

from Xarayes, Alvar Núñez met some of those Indians who had fled to the desert after their defeat. Some of them, whose age Alvar Núñez calculated to be 30, stated that they were unable to give any information about the route which the Guaraní had then followed in their foray, because they had been very young at the time. Following this information, we must suppose that this unsuccessful foray on the part of the Guaraní to the west must have taken place in the year 1543. Between the expedition of Alvar Núñez and that of the Portuguese Alejo García, which, according to Dr. M. Domínguez, took place between 1524 and 1526, there is a period of about 20 years, and Alvar Núñez could only guess at the age of those Indians who said that they had still been very young at the time of the said foray. Thus this foray might have taken place, according to what is ascertained from the clues based on the age of those

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Indians, either before or after García's expedition. But in any case, this foray with which we are dealing is not that great Guaraní expedition against Guacane and his brother Condori, since it is related in the document cited that these Guaraní, after their victorious battles against Guacane and Condori, had settled on top of the Sierra, where they also remained after their defeat by Grigota, henceforth being called by the Peruvians by the name Chiriguano. The Guaraní who made the foray to which Alvar Núñez refers were almost all wiped out by their enemies, who were probably Chaco Indians, and only a few survivors escaped, taking refuge in the desert through which they had previously passed.

Ge [173] [648]

In Puerto de los Reyes, Irala received from a Chané cacique who spoke Guaraní the information "that in times past, before García had come from Brazil to the said Guaraní, a great gathering of the said Guaraní was held in the port that they call Itatin in order to go to search for metal" (9). On this occasion

9. Moreno II, p. 91.

the Guaraní passed through the lands of the Chané and destroyed their houses. Also in this statement of the Chané cacique nothing is said about a permanent settlement of the Guaraní in the west. Rather it says that the Guaraní wanted to "search for" metal. Thus we are also dealing here with a Guaraní foray.

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The Guaraní expeditions and emigrations described above were from the beginning connected with hostile contacts with the various native groups of the lands through which they passed. In all the regions where the Guaraní met other Indians, they devastated their camps /toldería/ /?/ and carried off with them as slaves all the inhabitants who had not been killed in the fighting. They were the enemies of all and were hated by all. The Chané in particular, described as peaceful and unwarlike, suffered their acts of violence. When the Guaraní who had emigrated to the west after their defeat by Grigota had settled permanently on the cordillera, they

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continued defeating the neighboring Indians and especially those of the Llanos, and they took off with them many of these as slaves to serve them as auxiliaries in other forays. When Nuflo de Chaves came to the cordillera, the Chiriguano were coming to make war upon the Indians of Pono or of Misque, but Nuflo de Chaves upset their arrival and made them break off their hostilities with those Indians and the others of the frontier. (10) In 1580 the violent actions of the Chiriguano

10. Moreno II, p. 77.

against the tribes in their vicinity forced the viceroy of Peru to send Captain Andrés Manso to that region in order to found a town there, thus establishing a defense against the incursions of these Indians (11). The report of the Corregidor of Tomina,

11. Moreno II, p. 281.

Don Juan Arce Alvendin, made in 1618, informs us that the Chiriguano at first lived in peace with Andrés Manso, but later counseled the Chané who had been pacified by Manso to rebel against the Spaniards, and they killed Captain Manso and the rest of the Spaniards of the new town. They took over the land, subjecting the Chané and making them serve as slaves. In the statement of Sebastian Perez Chamoso in 1571 (12), the

12. Moreno II, pp. 106-107.

act of violence of the Chiriguano against the Yanacona and Chicha Indians are mentioned, and it is said that they took Chicha Indians as slaves. In the Decree of the Royal Audiencia in which it was resolved that war was to be waged against the Chiriguano in the year 1583, there is mentioned among many other misdeeds of the Chiriguano the fact that they had also usurped and devastated the lands of the Llanos and the Chané Indians (13). By continually enslaving the Indians of the

13. Moreno II, p. 104.

Chane SF8
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/7 cont./ By continually enslaving the Indians of the subjugated tribes, the Chiriguano by the end of the 16th century already had numerous subjects and auxiliaries in their wars. Most of the Tamacocies (later called Chamacoco) and the Chané were among these, and if other documents of 1583 and 1584 relate that the Tamacocies, the Xores, the Mares, and the Yuracares were their allies, it is probable that this was a case of such Indians violently subjugated and used as auxiliaries in war (14). While the Tamacocies (Chamacoco)

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14. Moreno II, pp. 72 and 73.

were subsequently emancipated from their Chiriguano conquerors and emigrated to the east, most of the Chané, who formerly were a very populous nation, remained in subjugation for a long time (15). Because of the poor treatment that the

15. Moreno II, p. 249.

Chiriguano normally accorded them, there was always a contrast between the two nations, and the Chané preferred to be dependent on the Spaniards rather than remain in slavery to the hated Chiriguano (16). According to Corregidor Tomina's report

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16. Moreno II, p. 250.

in 1618, already mentioned in what has been written above, the relationship between the Chiriguano population and the Chané population was such that the number of pure Chiriguano was smaller than the number of their subjects. According to the estimate made in this connection, the population of the Chiriguano of the Cordillera consisted of 1,500 pure Chiriguano, among whom were distributed 10,000 Chané. Among the 400 Chiriguano of the province of Machareti were distributed 5,000 Chané slaves. Yet for several centuries the Chané must have remained in harsh slavery to the Chiriguano until, in the second half of the 19th century, the formidable resistance of the Chiriguano was broken, and, after a severe blow,

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Chané, SF8
Guaraní SM4

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/7 cont./ they definitively lost their independence, being left subject to the whites (17). /8/ From this time also the Chané freed

17. Moreno II, pp. 253 and 254.

themselves from the oppression of their old masters, forming their own separate towns in the midst of their former masters (18).

18. Father Alejandro Corrado in the year 1883. In Moreno II, p. 254.

In addition, the final insurrection of the Chiriguano in the year 1890 was put down by the Bolivians; and for that reason the situation of the Chané was not modified, and so it is that the explorer Erland v. Nordenskiöld found them still under the same conditions (19).

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19. Erland Nordenskiöld: Indianerleben. El Gran Chaco (Südamerika /Indian Life. The Gran Chaco (South America)/. Leipzig, 1912, pp. 148 ff. Cited in what follows: Nord 1.

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Having described above the history of Chiriguano relations with the ancient Peruvians and the other Indian tribes, we have yet to deal also with their relations with the whites, that is, with the Spaniards or Bolivians, who little by little occupied their territory. We must stress in the first place the fact that the first whites who came to their territory and to the adjacent llanos were not any novelty to them, since even before their emigration the Chiriguano had met these people in their native land between the upper Paraná River and the Paraguay. Because of the initial attitude of the Guaraní on meeting the conquistadors, it is evident that both parties had the same aim, that of getting rich from the wealth of the rich lands of the west, of which they had heard. In order to attain

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this common end, the Guaraní had first favored the conquistadors, giving them important information about the rich land and the ways to get there, and placing themselves at their disposal as auxiliaries in war. According to Guzman, the Portuguese Alejo García took with him 2,000 of these Guaraní from the Paraguay on his expedition to Peru, and if Guzman says that that expedition of García's was the cause of the subsequent expedition of the Guaraní to the west and of the emigration of a great number of them to the western regions of the Paraguayan Chaco, we ought not to reject this opinion, limiting it only in that sense that García's expedition might have been one of the causes of that emigration. When Nuflo de Chaves on his expedition later met the Guaraní of the cacique Vanbaguazu, they received him in a friendly way, oriented him with reference to the rich land and the routes there, and gave him companions for his trip (20).

20. Moreno II, p. 55.

The first of the conquistadors whom the Guaraní met after their emigration to the Cordillera, henceforth called the Chiriguano of the Cordillera, was Captain Domingo de Irala. According to Father Alcaya's report, when Irala arrived in these regions, he sent a Guaraní of his council to make overtures to the Chiriguano Indians, and in what follows the report says literally: "... and many of them came to offer him peace." But in spite of this peace, the Chiriguano did not wish to show him the gold mines and also kept Captain Condori, whom they had captured in their expedition against the Peruvians and whom they now turned over to Captain Irala, as an expert, from finding out anything about the mines (21).

21. Moreno II, p. 92.

8: Schmidt--18 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani SM4

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In 1560 the two conquistadors, Nuflo de Chaves and Andrés Manso, arrived in the Chiriguano region in the Vitupue Province (22). In Gabriel Paniagua de Loayza's letter

22. Moreno II, p. 264.

to the Royal Audiencia in 1584, we learn that the Chiriguano of the Sierra, when Nuflo de Chaves arrived for the first time in their land, were about to make war on the Indians of Poxo or of Misque. As has already been mentioned above, Nuflo de Chaves upset their plans and made them cease hostilities (23).

23. Moreno II, p. 77.

Through the division of territories that took place later between Nuflo de Chaves and Andrés Manso, the former received the /9/ northern territories and the latter the southern ones. While Nuflo de Chaves had to deal principally with the Guaraní Itatines, later called Itatines-Guarayú, who had emigrated into those regions located more to the north and who in a little while killed the valiant conquistador, it was from the beginning Andrés Manso's mission to arrange relationships with the Chiriguano of the Sierra and to put an end to their violent acts. At first Manso managed to enter into peaceful relations with most of the Chiriguano and to put them in service as vassals; but it seems that they were involved from the very beginning in the differences that existed between Nuflo de Chaves and Andrés Manso. A document of 1501, the "Testimonio del Escribano Francisco Gallego /Testimony of the Clerk Francisco Gallego/" (24), [illegible] interesting comments

24. Moreno II, pp. 273 and 274.

upon this matter. He says that in 1560 a Chiriguano Indian came as a delegate of the cacique Bitupue and other caciques to Nuflo de Chaves to complain about Andrés Manso's conduct and at the same time to ask him what they should do. While

8: Schmidt--19 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
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/9 cont./ While Nuflo de Chaves, as has been mentioned, had prohibited the Chiriguano from continuing their acts of violence upon the other Indians, a short time later Manso made them join up to go to war against the Indians of the llanos. The Chiriguano, having learned of Captain Manso's intentions, all returned to their old ways. Manso again called them to go to war against the llanos Indians, and he took with him several Chiriguano caciques. When it seemed to him that they were taking him along a wrong path, he killed a Chiriguano Indian and ordered another one's hand cut off. He also killed a messenger of the cacique Botipue. We learn from this letter that the hostility which shortly thereafter broke out in the peaceful relations between the Chiriguano and Andrés Manso, and which cost considerable effort, expense, and sacrifice to the Spaniards and later to the Bolivians, was motivated, at least in great part, by the violent acts of the first whites who had relations with these Indians. This guilt of the Spaniards in the continual hostilities with the Chiriguano was frankly admitted by the Maestro General of the Province, Don Salvador Pasit, in the year 1778 (25).

25. Moreno II, p. 241.

He sent an order to all the soldiers that they suspend their activities against the Chiriguano, stating that the attitude of the Chiriguano was provoked by the introduction of the Spaniards into their lands, in which they had established estancias and herds. The beginning of the hostilities between the Spaniards and the Chiriguano was due to the latter, who suddenly attacked the town of Condorillo, or Santo Domingo de la Nueva Rioja, founded by Andrés Manso, and killed the latter, together with all the other Spaniards, and burned the town (26).

26. Moreno II, p. 281.

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The same fate befell the town of Barranca founded by Nuflo de Chaves and Captain Miguel Martin, and their men in the town of Lagunilla. Moreover, nine of Nuflo de Chaves' men, as well as Captain Pedro de Castro, who had been charged with rebuilding the destroyed town of Santo Domingo de Nueva Rioja, were killed (27). The attacks and robberies of the Chiriguano

27. Moreno II, p. 114.

against the Spanish settlers were so frequent and continual at the end of the 16th century that they were in constant danger, and communications between the several larger towns were quite difficult (28). The various Chiriguano factions had

28. Moreno II, pp. 102-104, 106, and 107.

divided among themselves the land where they were to make the attacks (29). The expedition of the Viceroy Don Francisco

29. Moreno II, p. 120.

de Toledo, with many people and much equipment and at great expense, had no success whatsoever (30). The Chiriguano

30. Moreno II, p. 114.

continued robbing and attacking. From time to time occasional expeditions were sent to punish them, which, in passing, burned a few rancherias and maize fields /10/ and killed some of them (31), but they never had a decisive success, and this

31. Moreno II, pp. 116-118.

situation still continued for two centuries in an almost unchanging form (32). But despite these hostilities, there were

32. Moreno II, p. 273.

8: Schmidt--21 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani SM4
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/10 cont./
some relations between the Chiriguano and the Spaniards from the earliest times. According to the Relación de la Annua de la Compañía de Jesús /Annual Report of the Company of Jesus/ for the year 1596, there had been obtained from Potosí and the Charcas many ways and means for bringing them toward peace, considering the very little hope of pacifying them by arms (33) and, according to the same report,

33. Moreno II, p. 102 /the first figure of this page number is missing in the original text and has been supplied here on the basis of a previous citation./

already at that time some Spaniards were going in and out of there to deal with them, and also the Chiriguano were coming both to Potosí and to the Charcas for the same purpose. In addition, Techo, who wrote his Historia de la Provincia del Paraguay in the second half of the 17th century, relates that the Chiriguano sold their prisoners of war to the Spaniards. "They lost no opportunity to devote themselves to this business; they competed with the Spaniards themselves" (34).

34. Moreno II, p. 237.

According to a communication from Escribano Mosquera in 1573 (35), there were already some Spaniards living among the

35. Certification of Escribano Mosquera. According to Moreno II, p. 115.

Chiriguano at that time. This gentleman had heard of two Spaniards and a mestizo among them, who were probably prisoners of war.

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At the end of the 18th century relations between the Chiriguano and the Spaniards modified to the point that from this time on the mission managed to propagate the faith somewhat more among the Chiriguano. In 1779 the Intendente of Cochabama, Don Tomás Leso, after a bitter struggle, defeated the Saypuru faction, which was the one most feared. Later the reduction of Florida was formed on the western shore of the Guapay, with some hundreds of families who had not assisted the Saypurú faction and so, fearing their vengeance, followed the Spaniards (36). Several years later a few other

36. Moreno II, p. 244.

missions were founded by the Franciscans, together with the fort at Saypurú, as a defense for the missions. But by 1799 the Chiriguano had attacked six of these missions, devastating them completely (37). A strong campaign against the

37. Moreno II, p. 245.

Chiriguano, directed by Intendente Viedma in person, had not had any success at all, the army of 2,000 men having turned back when their officers were killed by the enemy. In spite of this the missionaries repaired the destroyed reductions (38).

38. Moreno II, p. 246.

According to the notes of Father Antonio Comajuncosa (39),

39. Moreno II, pp. 246 and 247. A historical manifesto of what the missionaries of Tarija have wrought.

there already existed in the year 1810, 18 missions among the Chiriguano in the southern zone of the Pilcomayo River. Through the influence of the missions and through both violent

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/10 cont./ through the influence of the missions and through both violent and peaceful means of the Spaniards and, later, by the Bolivians, conterminous with the Chiriguano, little by little most of the Chiriguano came over to their side, so that the power of the Chiriguano tribe, in another time so strong and invincible, was weakened (40). Thus it happened that in

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40. José Cardúz: Las Misiones Franciscanas entre los infieles de Bolivia /The Franciscan Missions among the Infidels of Bolivia/. Barcelona, 1886. From Moreno II, pp. 248 and 249.

1875 the inhabitants of the neighboring provinces were able to give a final blow to the last segments of independent Chiriguano, subjugating them completely and obliging the defeated factions who refused to submit to disperse into other lands, some of them taking refuge in the Chaco among the Toba and Tapieté (40) /see footnote 40 above/. Nevertheless, this was not the final fight between the Chiriguano and the whites, as Cardúz supposed in 1885. A part of the Chiriguano in 1890 attempted one last rebellion against the Bolivians. About 5,000 Indians gathered on the Boynove plain near Curuyuqui, fought for a whole day against the Bolivians, who were assisted by some thousand Indians of the same tribe. At nightfall the heated battle had not yet been decided, but in the /11/ night the Indians lost their spirit in the face of the superiority of modern arms and left their trenches (41). Also,

41. Nord. 1, p. 168.

after this defeat one of the caciques, named Cayahari, preferred to take flight rather than surrender to the Bolivians. They say that he settled in the area of a large lake far from the whites (42).

42. Nord. 1, p. 161.

8: Schmidt--24 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani SM4

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C. Gi 175 178 167

The preceding historical sketch has shown that we can ascertain the history of the Chiriguano by means of numerous documents over a period of 400 years, up to that epoch so important for their future fate and culture, during which they emigrated from their native country and settled in a distant region. In this new country they found completely different conditions of life. All three factors by which all human life and all human culture are influenced and conditioned, nature, social state, and the spiritual culture of the ambient, were different in the new surroundings, and for that reason during the four centuries of their history they had to modify their primordial culture, which they had brought from their native country.

C 178 [126]

The products of their present-day culture, dealt with in this publication by means of the ethnographic collection that I brought from Machareti and Toledo, must be regarded as the result of numerous and different interacting factors. Some of the products of the old culture were kept in a fairly primordial form up to today; others were modified, either being perfected or in some cases degenerating. Many were completely lost because of the modified circumstances, and some were added as a result of the assimilation of outside cultures.

C. Gh 177 174 C [113]

As we have already said, the question of the influences on Chiriguano culture has been extensively dealt with by Erland Nordenskiöld (43). While the Chiriguano received relatively

43. Nord. 2, pp. 195-213. Cf. Alfred Métraux: "Etudes sur la civilisation des indiens Chiriguano /Studies on the Culture of the Chiriguano Indians/," Revista del Instituto de Etnología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán. Tucumán. Vol. I, No. 3 (cited in what follows as Métraux I), pp. 299 and 300.

[Buriti]

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464 for the cows, thus employing very few people. (The Indians
648 have the usufruct of the milk of this cattle, and more rarely
233 the meat--since beeves are slaughtered only infrequently.)

/96/ Francisco Horta

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361 The 3,600-hectare reservation, supervised by the
621 Francisco Horta Native Post, is occupied chiefly by Guarani
162 Indians of the Kaiwá subgroup, who are distributed among three
[101] of the four population nuclei in the aldea: a) the central
[622] nucleus or Aldeia Farinha Sêca, where the dwelling of the
Kaiwá "Captain" João Fernandes is, located close to the
native post and where most of the Kaiwá population lives;
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[133] b) Aldeia Bororó, as they call a concentration of 177 Kaiwá
[622] Indians on the banks of São Domingos stream and which has
its own chief, "Captain" Ireno Isnardi; c) also Aldeia Proterito,
subjacent to the former one, made up of only four ranchos,
with 10 Kaiwá inhabitants, on the banks of the stream of the
G
[361] same name; finally d) the fourth nucleus, called Jaguapiru, is
[621] made up exclusively of Terêna families that comprise about
[162] 180 persons living in ranchos along Saltino or Jaguapiru stream.

Gi By decree of 1917, signed by the president of the state
175 of Mato Grosso, the government donated those lands to the
621 Kaiwá local group which at that time consisted of about 550
423 individuals. It seems that only after 1917 did Terêna families
182 begin to reach the reservation, coming from the top of the
G Maracaju range. Everything indicates that the first families
175 were drawn there by the Coronel de Engenharia, Nicolau Bueno
166 Horta Barbosa, then inspetor of that region, with the aim of
621 stimulating Kaiwá agriculture through the known efficiency of
648 Terêna labor. The families that kept coming to Francisco Horta
were drawn by their relatives, who were settled comfortably
alongside the Kaiwá.